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ABSTRACT

This study illustrates and analyzes the part which community self-help has played in the financing of education in Kenya. Particular attention is paid to the view that although such local communities tend to reduce short-term costs for governments, they limit, at the same time, the opportunities to develop new and wider strategies of educational development. The document begins with a historical survey of the self-help schools. It then considers the organization, financing, and control of education (since Kenyan independence) at the pre-first level, first-level, and second-level schools. Separate chapters consider the self-help factor at each of these three levels and include case studies of unaided schools at these different levels. (Author/DN)

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Financing educational systems: specific case studies 4

Organization and financing of self-help education in Kenya

J.E. Anderson

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J.E. Anderson

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Aims and methodology of the IIEP research project on financing educational systems

This research project, launched by the International Institute for Educational Planning early in 1970, originated in an enquiry as to the real possibility of the developing countries financing their educational objectives in the course of the United Nations Second Development Decade, bearing in mind the high level of expenditure that has already been reached in most cases, the constant rise in unit costs, and the increasing competition within the state budgets themselves that education will probably encounter in the future from the financing of productive investments, debt servicing, and other predictable expenditures.

Viewed in this light, therefore, the research is not strictly limited to the study of financing techniques, but has wider aims:

1. To explore the real weight of probable financial constraints on the development of educational systems up to 1980.
2. To study the various financing methods likely to augment resources, and to define a strategy of educational financing more closely adapted to social and economic realities.
3. To analyse certain alternative solutions (new structures, new technologies, etc.) capable, by reducing costs or improving the efficiency of the teaching process, of leading to a better balance between educational targets and the resources available for them.

In addition to these extremely concrete objectives, concerned with the real problems facing educational planners in all countries, the collation of the essential data should provide the basis for the answers to more theoretical questions, affecting, for example, the type of correlation between educational expenditure and the level of development, between the level of expenditure and the method of financing, between the level of unit costs and the development of the educational system, etc.

With these aims in mind, two types of study are being undertaken:

1. *National case studies* for the *retrospective* (1961-70) and *prospective* (1980 or beyond) analysis of the expenditure, financing and costs of educational systems in the widest and most representative possible sample of countries—at least fifteen; these studies should, as already stated, reveal both the magnitude and the nature of the financial constraints to be expected in the general framework

of the development of the economy and of the finances of the state, and the level and various alternative forms for the possible development of educational systems. These studies will thus cover the whole field of educational financing, costs, and policies in each country concerned.

2. *Specific case studies* covering, first, the different possible methods of financing (centralised, decentralised, public, private, etc.) and, especially, original ways of raising supplementary resources, and, secondly, the study of new educational solutions calculated to reduce costs.

These studies are being carried out in Member States by the IIEP in close collaboration with national specialists, either from government departments or from universities; in many cases the research is a concerted effort by the IIEP and the country concerned, for the common benefit of both parties and of the international community as a whole.

This project will continue until 1973, and will culminate in a synthesis report summing up the findings relating to all the problems posed. A number of the studies have already been completed, however, and instead of presenting them in a single volume it has been decided to publish them as single monographs in a new collection, *Financing educational systems*, comprising two series, one of country case studies and one of specific case studies. The synthesis report will be published early in 1974.

The financial outlay for the implementation of this ambitious project could not be provided from Unesco's basic grant to the Institute. The IIEP is deeply grateful to the Member States and various organizations who, by their voluntary contributions, have enabled it to launch and pursue this research: in particular to SIDA (Swedish International Development Authority), NORAD (Norwegian Agency for International Development), DANIDA (Danish International Development Agency), CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency), the Republic of Ireland, and the Ford Foundation. The Institute is also deeply indebted to the Member States and national specialists in various parts of the world who have agreed to co-operate with the IIEP in carrying out these studies. The publication by the IIEP of certain studies by outside consultants does not necessarily imply, however, the Institute's agreement with all the opinions expressed in them.

Preface

This study by J.E. Anderson on the organization and financing of the self-help schools (the *harambee* schools) in Kenya is one of the specific case studies included in the IIEP research project on the financing of educational systems, the aims and general methods of which have been outlined in the foregoing General Introduction.

Schools spontaneously created and financed by the community are not exclusive to Kenya; in consequence of the strong community traditions of the African peoples, they are common to a number of countries. The author mentions other examples in English-speaking African countries, but the list could also be extended to French-speaking countries, even though in these the tradition of centralization bequeathed by the French colonial system is stronger. The example of Kenya is, however, particularly significant in this field and has been included for that reason.

A description of the present situation of school organization and financing in Kenya would not greatly enlighten us about the causes and the real driving-force of this community development movement; the author has therefore given us, in an introductory chapter which the reader will certainly find too short in view of its great interest, a historical survey of the *harambee* or self-help schools.

First-level schooling in Kenya was first started by the Christian missions; the missions trained the teachers and prepared the teaching material, while the families built the schools and paid the teachers. For the historical reasons recalled by the author, the community schools proper developed later, outside the authority of the missions and the colonial government; the Kikuyu, for example, created 400 *harambee* schools between 1922 and 1952, including a few second-level schools and one teacher-training college. A first comprehensive report on education in Kenya, in 1949, recorded 840 aided schools and 1,356 unaided schools, run either by the missions or by independent communities.

After 1952 political events led to the disappearance of the community schools, which were taken over either by the missions or by the district education boards. Since independence (1963) the mission schools themselves are being progressively integrated into the government system.

Schools totally self-financed and managed by elected parental committees

now play only a marginal role at the first level (a total of 10,000 pupils in 1969), but they have not disappeared and, on the contrary, they are constantly springing up again in school districts where educational needs cannot be met by the authorities; the case study of the Kahuhu first-level school throws some light on the reasons underlying the creation of these new schools and the mechanisms of their administration and financing.

But in practice, even where the *harambee* first-level schools have been integrated in the official school network, the community of parents, through the elected school committees, still affords substantial aid to the schools for maintenance, repairs, new building, etc., in the form either of voluntary labour or of financial contributions over and above the ordinary school fees.

In the circumstances, however, the African community spirit has turned to other educational tasks, especially pre-school education and second-level education.

The organization and financing of pre-school education is mainly the affair of the families and of the *ad hoc* school committees which they elect. In 1969 more than 4,500 schools of this type provided educational services of variable nature and quality to more than 180,000 children; J.E. Anderson gives a detailed study of the functioning of the Thogoto Centre. At present, however, the *harambee* system is obtaining its most remarkable results in second-level schools.

The efforts of the central government to develop public second-level schools, considerable as they have been, have been unable to keep pace with the development of first-level schools, the number of first-level school-leavers having increased from 29,000 in 1961 to 156,000 in 1965; the populations, with varying degrees of help from the missions, have therefore tried to solve the problem of the further education of their children themselves by creating second-level schools. More than 524 second-level schools have thus been created since independence, of which about fifty have now been taken over by the official system.

In 1969, 265 public second-level schools had a total of 55,000 pupils and 443 unaided schools, mostly of the *harambee* type, were educating a further 45,000. It should be noted that, owing to the fact that they are frequently located in rural areas, the community schools are, on average, smaller than the aided schools.

As an example, J.E. Anderson gives a detailed description of the foundation and functioning of one of these schools, the Kenyatta High School, the construction of which was started in 1965 on the initiative of a school committee spontaneously constituted in the school's recruitment area.

Conclusions of various kinds can be drawn from this study by J.E. Anderson. Some of them relate to the actual magnitude of the direct financial effort made by the communities of parents in favour of their children's education. In addition to paying school fees, the families financed 55 per cent of the cost of building new schools in 1968, they contributed to the maintenance and equipment of the official first-level schools and, finally, they financed their own pre-school, first-level and second-level establishments, whose respective importance we have seen.

The case studies presented by J.E. Anderson throw some light on the motives which impel the parents to make an effort of this magnitude; first of all, certainly, a very firm belief in the need for a sound general education, and secondly the feeling, still relatively powerful, that it is the responsibility of the communities to solve their own problems ... in so far as the authorities seem incapable of doing so. In this connexion, J.E. Anderson recalls that the original efforts of the communities were mainly furnished in kind and raised no question of opportunity costs for them, and he emphasizes that nowadays families seem less and less inclined to increase their cash contributions; this is hardly surprising, since the example of the outright integration of certain *harambee* schools in the official system may well encourage families to rely on public financing.

While the spontaneous development of the network of first- and second-level schools is a temporary palliative to the shortcomings of financing from budget sources, it raises at the same time other problems for the authorities: co-ordination with the policy for the development of public schools, control over the quality of teaching, and the sound administration of the resources committed.

The author concludes, in the last analysis, that the solution to all these problems should be sought along the lines of co-operation between the communities and the government with a view to maximizing the self-help of the populations and particularly to channelling it in the direction of the desirable development of the rural areas. But this suggestion of co-operation is not given any very precise concrete form.

In fact, the author is very careful not to recommend the solution of generalized integration, which, in the medium term, seems neither possible nor desirable. For our part, it seems to us that this co-operation could be sought through the medium of official aid for the *partial* financing of the *harambee* schools. This form of incentive would make it possible to speed up the development of schooling in Kenya, at less cost to the public finances, while allowing the authorities to ensure co-ordination and a certain measure of control in all fields where experience proves them to be necessary.

RAYMOND POIGNANT
Director, IIEP

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The author is particularly grateful to Christopher Wangombe of the University of Nairobi for considerable help in developing the case studies of Kahuhu first-level school and the day-care centre at Thogoto.

Introduction

During the next decade, the problems of financing educational expansion in many of the developing countries are likely to become increasingly difficult. In many cases, the system of financing education almost exclusively through central government taxation will become strained as governments recognize the need to increase investment in more immediately productive areas of the economy. With this situation in mind, the purpose of this study is to investigate the possibilities and effects of community self-help in education, using Kenya as a case study. Whilst community self-help support for schools can be found in several countries in Africa, Kenya's experience seems to indicate that this method can provide a substantial supplementary source of educational finance.

This study was first focused on first-level schools. However, as it got under way, its scope was widened so as to include pre-first-level schools, at one end, and second-level schools, at the other. Some of the reasons for this are complex, and will be explained more fully in the next section. The basic reason, however, relates to the length and timing of the seven-year course in Kenya given ideally to children between the ages of 6/7 and 12/13. (In many cases the age range still tends to be older than this, but it is falling rapidly, especially in the progressive areas.) At the time of independence, approximately 52 per cent of the children of this age group were attending first-level school, and there was only a small wastage rate. However, in the progressive settled agricultural areas attendance was much higher, while in some of the remote areas it was much lower.

In general, since independence, attendance at first-level schools has been rising slowly but steadily, and it was estimated that, by 1968, 61 per cent of all children in the first-level school age group were in school. A sample survey carried out in 1968 shows the inequality of facilities for first-level education as between the various districts (see Table 1). One particularly important effect of this inequality is that in the politically more progressive areas, (e.g., North Tetu in Nyeri, the Yatta in Machakos, and Vihiga in Kakamega), where first-level schooling is nearly universal, interest focuses less on the normal stage of first-level education between 6 and 12, and more on the need to establish education for young children below the age of 6 and for the increasing numbers of children leaving first-level school. At the time of independence, only about 10 per cent of first-

TABLE 1. First-level schooling, 1968

Division	District	No. of schools in division	Enrolment of those eligible		Average class size in district	Percentage of boys in district schools
			Total	Percentage		
Kwale	Kwale	9	697	11	26	73
Wundanyi	Taita/Taveta	54	9 455	78	31	55
Mbere	Embu	48	5 951	71	37	67
Yatta	Machakos	43	...	89 [1]	34	58
S. Imenti	Meru	50	11 034	58	32	58
Kiharu	Murang'a	60	15 401	86	36	56
N. Tetu	Nyeri	58	...	125 [2 3]	37	53
Northern	Baringo	32	3 587	27	23	64
N. Nandi	Nandi	65	8 370	60	24	63
Kapenguria	W. Pokot	15	1 921	26	32	71
Irianyi	Kisii	58	...	51 [2]	32	61
Migori	S. Nyanza	...	...	46 [2]	20	69
Central	Busia	55	9 649	61	26	65
Vihiga	Kakamega	175	43 440	83	32	56

1. Based on 19 per cent of population being 6-12 or 7-13 years, from *Kenya education commission report*, Part I, age structure projections.
2. District figures.
3. The figure of 125 per cent reflects repeaters, over-age pupils and outsiders inflating numbers, and whilst N. Tetu is likely to be exceptional in this respect, the figures for other areas should be read with this fact in mind. The percentage of boys in school should also be taken into account, because percentage enrolment figures for boys are higher than the totals.

SOURCES Ministry of Education, *Annual report, 1968*, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1969
Special rural development project, survey report, Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, University College, 1969.

level school-leavers could find places in second-level schools, and with the age of school-leaving falling rapidly, large numbers of 12 to 13-year-old children began to leave first-level school without any chance of further education, but too young to start looking for wage employment.[1]

Naturally, it was the progressive districts, where wealth, organizing experience and talent were more readily available, that gave the lead in the self-help education movement which developed so rapidly after independence, and whilst some attention was given to expanding and improving first-level education, priority was given to the new task of extending the normal first-level educational stage at one end, by developing self-help pre-first-level schools to provide pre-school education for the 3 to 6-year olds, and, at the other, by developing self-help second-level schools to cater for the rapidly increasing numbers of first-level school-leavers.

1. Christian Council of Kenya and Christian Churches' Educational Association, *After school, what?* Nairobi, 1966. (A report on the further education, training and employment of first-level school leavers).

These attempts which have now culminated in the development of approximately 4,600 nursery schools and 450 self-help second-level schools, seem to reflect a change in the traditional view of first-level education, certainly in Kenya, but, one suspects, in many other developing countries as well. Neither parents nor pupils are satisfied with a 6 to 7-year period of formal education covering a rather arbitrarily chosen period of childhood and early adolescence. Pressure is building up rapidly for an education which covers a child's development from about the age of 3 until about the age of 16, when he becomes ready for a full working life.

During the colonial period, Kenya's Africans learned to pay careful attention to the way the Europeans educated their children. Today, with 50,000 Europeans still in the country, and an educationally conscious African *élite* in the modern sector, the importance of extending the range of formal education has become clear to a large mass of Kenya's rural population, and they are pressing for this, not least through self-help efforts. Of course, it can be argued that self-help methods should be used to consolidate the present form of first-level education, rather than trying to extend it, and there is much sense in this argument. However, two important considerations must here be taken into account. First, in carrying out voluntary self-help projects, local communities will naturally follow their own order of priorities; and, second, once they have satisfied a need as far as they can see it, they will press to meet other needs. In many of the more progressive, and hence more influential, areas in Kenya it is felt that the need for the traditional form of first-level education is now largely met. It is the extension of the basic education of the child which has now become the goal of these communities, and it is their success with self-help development that is gradually making this goal a reality.

One other factor must now be taken into account. Independence came at a time when Kenya's first-level educational system was being changed from a two-stage 8-year course into a single-stage 7-year course, (by abolishing the selective examination at standard IV, gradually phasing out standard VIII, and rapidly increasing the number of pupils leaving at standard VII). Thus the number of leavers rose very sharply during the period immediately following independence. This is described in more detail later, but, as Table 2 shows, the number of pupils leaving first-level school rose from 29,870 in 1961 to 156,865 in 1965. This very rapid rise suddenly altered the whole national employment position, for, whilst in 1962 the great majority of first level school-leavers who did not get into second-level school could still find employment or training of some kind, by 1964 the problem of unemployment had become serious, and both parents and pupils began to recognize that second-level education was, to all intents and purposes, a prerequisite for finding paid employment above the unskilled level.

This situation resulted in increased emphasis by individuals, families and local communities on formal education and, consequently, in an increase of the self-help effort to build schools, particularly at the post-first level.

With this general picture of basic educational development in Kenya in mind, let us now look at the role of self-help in the financing and organization of basic

TABLE 2. First-level school-leavers, 1960-69

Year	Standard VII	Standard VIII	Total
1960	—	17 153	17 153
1961	7 376	22 494	29 870
1962	10 219	27 373	37 592
1963	28 640	31 753	60 393
1964	88 372	33 870	122 240
1965	120 829	36 036	156 865
1966	146 192	440	146 632
1967	147 544	—	147 544
1968	146 784	—	146 784
1969	149 793	—	149 793 [1]

1. Provisional figure.
SOURCE *Annual reports, 1960-68*, op. cit.

education in Kenya at the three levels mentioned above, dealing first with the first level, then the pre-first level, and lastly the second level. In each case a general survey will be given, based on the current reports and statistics available, interviews with officials and individuals concerned, and the author's own experience over the last ten years of education in Kenya. Each level will be illustrated by a specific case study related to the financing and organization of the institutions concerned.

I. An historical survey of self-help in education

The self-help effort in Kenya is usually traced back to the traditional pattern of communal work and co-operative effort so evident in African societies. When the European form of school education was introduced into Kenya by the missionaries, it was not at first accepted by the local people. The missionaries built a few model schools on their stations, but initially only attracted to them such people as famine victims, outcasts and the very poor. Gradually, however, Africans began to realize the potential of the school as a means of improving their material way of life and their relative status in colonial society. Thus partnerships developed in which local communities provided land, built classrooms and eventually provided support for teachers, while the missionaries developed teaching materials and trained teachers. Throughout the colonial period, the government chose to rely largely on this partnership to provide elementary education for the African people, although various grants-in-aid were given, and developments in administration, such as the creation of African district councils and district education boards, took place. Indeed, there was a general tendency for the self-help efforts of parents in building schools to outstrip both the missionaries' and ultimately the government's capacity to develop suitable curricula and materials, to train teachers, and to supervise schools. And when the locally-elected district councils began to emphasize educational development in the late 1930s, the government introduced the Fazan formula to define the maximum proportion a council could devote in its budget to educational development.[1]

The traditional pattern of life has had an interesting effect on the African view of the age at which school education should take place. Children were a particularly important part of a family's economy, herding goats, doing errands, fetching water. Initially, therefore, it was the young initiated men who were free to go to school, and the missionaries welcomed this situation as they wished to train such young men as catechists. Thus, by the time younger children started to go to school, the principle, so prevalent in Kenya today, that young people should pursue education until they are able to find work had already been established. In effect, the extension of education in African society took place in a

1. 'The Beecher report', *African education in Kenya*, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1949. (A report of a committee appointed to inquire into African education).

downward direction from older to younger people, rather than in the upward direction normal in modern industrial societies.

A second important influence on the Kenyan people's attitude to education grew out of the Phelps-Strokes' reports of 1924, when both the missionaries and the colonial Education Department attempted to give African education a much stronger practical/rural/community development orientation. For a number of reasons the Africans resisted this. First, the practical agricultural education emphasized the heavy labour of soil conservation in the 'native reserves' and deliberately excluded the growing of cash crops, such as coffee. Second, it was clear that those who obtained the better-paid jobs as clerks and interpreters did so through academic learning, not practical training. Third, it was gradually realized that an academic education, emphasizing the English language, was essential if any mass political movement aimed at defending African land rights and ultimately gaining independence was to be formed. Thus, there developed amongst the people of Kenya attempts to organize their own schools on a self-help community basis, completely outside the authority of both missions and government. Such attempts were made by several groups, for instance, the Luo, the Kamba, the Pokoma, but the most significant were those of the Kikuyu who, between 1922 and 1952, created nearly 400 self-help schools. Most of these were small first-level schools, but a few lower second-level schools and one combined teachers' college and senior second-level school (Githunguri College) were also established.[1]

Throughout the period that followed the end of the war in 1945 and led up to independence in 1963, the pressure to expand and extend first-level education built up even more strongly. The activities of parents in building schools from local materials did much to embarrass the colonial government, as shown by the four attempts made during this period to reorganize the structure of first-level education.[2] In general, government policy sought to utilize self-help effort to provide school buildings and to cover maintenance costs, but at the same time attempts were made to check the expansion of schools in order to prevent recurrent costs (teachers' salaries, books, equipment), part of which came from central government funds, rising to a level above the budgetary allocations.

In 1950, after the Beecher committee report, first-level education was organized so that after a four-year elementary course, open to all who could pay fees, a selective examination was taken, allowing those who passed to go on to intermediate school for four years. The financing of both types of schools within the native land units was organized through the district education board, a body on which the local native councils (later African district councils), the central government administration and school managers were represented. Subventions were paid to each district board, by both the Treasury and the respective local native councils, and the board also collected school fees within its area. Grants-in-aid were then paid to the school managers, in most cases mission societies,

1. J.E. Anderson, *The struggle for the school*, Nairobi, Longman, 1970.
2. *African education in Kenya*, op. cit.

to cover the recurrent costs of teachers and equipment. Eventually, the district education boards themselves increasingly took up the role of management in the later 'fifties.

One of the particular concerns of the Beecher report was to rationalize the position of the unaided schools. At the time of this report (1949) there were 1,356 unaided schools and only 840 aided schools at the first level, excluding the Rift Valley province, where the great majority of schools were unaided farm schools. A minimum estimate of the recurrent cost of the unaided schools to the local African communities was K£100,000 per annum.[1] The Beecher proposals recommended increased government expenditure on recurrent costs, and a new approach to capital development in which the managers of the unaided schools, both missionary societies and the independent school associations, were to follow an agreed district educational development plan, laid down by the district education board.

In 1952, the emergency caused the disbanding of the independent school associations and the gradual absorption of their schools by the missionary managers and district education boards. An act was then passed limiting the right to establish schools to the statutorily approved managers, e.g., the major missionary societies and the district education boards.[2] Even so, the locally co-ordinated planning of school development was not as effective as the government had hoped. The parents recognized that such planning tended, in general, to restrict school development and often denied a particular area a school of its own. As a result, they continually pressed for expanded and extended educational provision. Yet it was the initiative which local communities took in actually forming school committees, donating land and erecting buildings that proved most effective. Once a school became a physical reality, pressure could be exerted more effectively on the district education boards and the approved school managers. In this connexion, parents were able to take advantage of the considerable evangelistic rivalry between the various missionary managers, particularly the catholics and protestants, to gain a sympathetic ear.

In the case of the elementary schools, this policy was particularly effective, but much less so in the case of intermediate schools. Nevertheless, in the more progressive areas, considerable efforts were made to establish intermediate schools. In response, the government empowered African district councils to spend funds on developing such schools, using council land and putting up permanent buildings. It was hoped that this policy would meet the increasing demand in the progressive areas and serve to show self-help groups the standard of buildings required, and that parental enthusiasm would be canalized into supporting the approved district council projects, thus preventing a rapid spread of intermediate schools built by *ad hoc* local groups. Yet, by 1960, the demand for increased intermediate schools became so great in Nyeri, one of the most progressive

1. Kenyan currency consists of pounds (£), shillings (shs.) and cents. £1 = shs.20 = 100 cents. Exchange rate 1968: U.S.$1 = shs.7.14.
2. *Kenya Education Ordinance*, 1952.

TABLE 3. Enrolments in first- and second-level schools, 1956-68

	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
First-level schools						
Standard I	142 045	153 560	177 647	178 988	179 560	189 958
Standard II	102 246	118 604	145 509	155 805	161 438	168 572
Standard III	82 894	99 872	120 752	140 925	154 397	163 313
Standard IV	82 220	93 925	115 363	135 292	156 659	171 071
Standard V	25 271	27 019	32 903	38 169	45 384	75 457
Standard VI	22 369	23 519	25 940	31 716	36 734	44 058
Standard VII	18 627	19 668	20 648	24 417	29 870	35 525
Standard VIII	11 256	11 917	12 901	14 198	17 153	22 494
Total	486 928	547 989	651 758	719 510	781 295	870 448
Second-level schools						
Form 1	3 423	3 775	5 813	6 265	6 444	7 245
Form 2	3 100	3 260	3 665	5 295	5 643	5 587
Form 3	2 245	2 719	2 892	3 304	4 433	4 586
Form 4	1 696	1 970	2 427	3 635	3 179	3 953
Form 5	261	189	246	302	292	513
Form 6	131	102	99	149	153	283
Total	10 856	12 015	15 356 [1]	19 239 [2]	20 139	22 167
GRAND TOTAL	497 784	560 004	667 114 [1]	738 782 [2]	801 434	892 615

1. Including 214 students whose grade (form) is not recorded.
2. Including 1,289 students whose grade (form) is not recorded.

NOTE 1965 figures adjusted since 1966 report was published.

SOURCE *Annual reports, 1958-68*, op. cit., except for 1963 second-level enrolments for which the source is *Statistical abstract, 1964*.

1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968
169 990	137 220	180 290	195 733	193 909	228 769	250 757
166 270	138 678	144 786	165 754	165 110	183 634	207 755
164 972	143 907	139 727	139 285	152 919	165 640	178 537
165 716	140 005	145 004	135 124	130 282	146 912	158 899
128 726	124 644	134 031	126 428	120 850	124 832	132 701
70 747	112 836	122 603	122 517	132 714	136 848	134 247
41 972	62 510	114 408	121 269	146 192	147 544	146 784
27 373	31 753	33 870	36 036	440	—	-
935 766	891 553	1 014 719	1 042 146	1 043 416	1 133 179	1 209 680
9 093	10 214	12 712	19 015	24 108	31 805	35 624
8 683	8 174	9 122	12 566	18 503	26 592	28 467
5 275	5 829	7 035	7 760	11 210	16 880	19 547
4 320	4 791	5 625	6 784	7 068	10 756	14 565
656	667	864	1 130	1 356	1 622	1 769
359	445	563	721	948	1 124	1 389
26 585	30 120	35 921	47 976	63 193	88 779	101 361
982 352	921 673	1 050 640	1 090 122	1 106 609	1 221 958	1 311 041

agricultural areas in Kenya, that the Presbyterian Church, who were the most influential school managers in the area, put forward a scheme for developing a full 7-year first-level course. This scheme involved cutting the class/teacher ratio, raising numbers in the classes, reducing the school equipment allocations, and using self-help efforts and local resources to convert elementary schools into full first-level schools. In practice, one further classroom and sufficiently increased amenities, such as latrines and offices, had to be added each year.

After a short trial period in Nyeri and Kakamega, the scheme was gradually introduced over a period of five years into all the other districts. Thus the coming of independence coincided with a period of renewed and vigorous local community activity in school building, the full effect of which can be seen from Table 3.

The very rapid rise in seven-year first-level school-leavers and its effects on extending education were mentioned earlier. But there were also two other important consequences. Firstly, the elected parental committees which were responsible for providing the extra buildings and amenities for the new seven-year first-level schools took on an increasingly important role in the organization and financing of the schools, and so tended to become much more influential in the actual running of them. Secondly, the reduction in the number of teachers, the rise in the number of pupils, and the lower grants for equipment (although the latter were offset to some degree by a rise in school fees), led to modifications in the actual educational provision in which practical subjects requiring expensive items, such as woodwork and domestic science, were early victims.

Much has been made of the traditional African capacity for communal effort by anthropologists and, more recently, politicians, and the role this can play in the process of national development. However, such effort depends not only on co-operative traditions, but also on individual entreprise and organizational talents. Success or failure depends largely on the initiative and drive of enterprising and energetic individuals. In these circumstances, self-help groups can easily become subject to the influences of particular personalities and parochial interests. There is clear evidence in the past that this has, in a number of cases, prevented effective co-operation on a viable scale, caused duplication of effort, and led to splits and disruptive rivalries between neighbouring communities.[1]

1. J.E. Anderson, 'The *harambee* schools: the impact of self-help', in R. Jolly (ed.), *Education in Africa: action and research*, Nairobi, East African Publishing House and Heinemann, 1969.

II. The organization and control of education since independence

Independence in 1963 brought to Kenya a regional constitution. This was designed to meet the concern, expressed by a number of groups in the country, that a centrally-oriented constitution might well restrict the opportunities for progress open to particular areas. Thus, initially, an extremely complex constitution was set up allocating considerable powers to locally elected councils in seven regions and thirty-eight counties within them. With regard to education, whilst the central government retained control over the education system as a whole and the direction of certain national institutions through the Ministry of Education, second-level education came under the control of the regional councils, and first-level education under the authority of the county councils. A year later, the regional councils were disbanded and their powers largely transferred to the central government. However, the thirty-eight county councils remained, and to some extent strengthened their positions as local government authorities.

First-level schools

In the years that followed, the relationship between the central administration and the county councils became increasingly tense, and one of the key issues was naturally the provision of first-level education.

At the time of independence the new Kenya government inherited a particularly complex situation with regard to first-level education: widely differing levels of provision between the various districts of the country, a changing structure moving rapidly towards a full seven-year first-level course for a falling age range of pupils, a devolution of missionary authority in favour of locally elected district councils, and a renewed programme of community self-help effort in education in most of the progressive areas of the country. The new government policies inevitably made the situation even more complex: the immediate appeal for community self-help (*harambee*) effort; the vital need to demonstrate concern over election promises; to establish free first-level education for all; the desire to reach a new relationship with the missions (now themselves rapidly changing

into local African churches) in which the government could assume greater control of education whilst retaining valuable missionary inputs; all these played a part.

At first, the central government saw the county councils as useful agents to which educational control could be passed from the missionaries. Thus the county councils, or rather, their education committees, took over the roles of the old district education boards and the missionary managers. These included making and submitting estimates to the central government, raising and allocating local educational revenue, planning and co-ordinating local educational development at the first level, and, in many cases, the official management of schools. At the beginning this changeover took place fairly smoothly and relatively few amendments had to be made to the original Colonial Education Act of 1952. However, as time passed, there began to emerge at the county level a complex pattern of administration which was to have profound effects on the financing and organization of first-level education.

To a large extent, the areas which formed counties also formed government districts, so that while the central government controlled an area for administrative matters through the district commissioner's office, the county council controlled the area for matters within its competence through the local council officials. In the case of education, an ambiguity arose when the district education boards were disbanded and the education committees of the county councils took their place. The district education officer became responsible to the education committee and, through it, to the county councils, and thus became known as the county education officer. However, although he was now in effect a servant of the council, he remained an employee of the central government with responsibility to make reports through the provincial administration directly to the central government.

Facing, on the one hand, pressures for expansion and free education, and, on the other, rising costs, the county councils found their educational role difficult, particularly with regard to finance. At the same time, the central administration became increasingly concerned about the inability of many counties to meet their educational obligations, and saw the advantages of tighter and more direct central government control. A particularly difficult problem arose over the teachers' terms of service. For many years, the teachers, through their union, had campaigned for the dissolution of the managers' powers over teachers' terms of service. At first, therefore, they were glad to accept local authorities as employers, but as soon as these authorities began to have financial difficulties, which affected the employment and payment of teachers, the Kenya National Union of Teachers redoubled its demands for a separate comprehensive teachers' service. In 1966 the Teachers' Service Act was passed, and it came into effect in 1967. However, its provisions were by no means wholly effective, because local authorities still handled the finance of first-level education, and this meant that each authority had to estimate its teaching needs and the revenue required to pay teachers, and then to claim the difference from the Teachers' Service Commission. Such a procedure proved cumbersome and beyond the capacities

of some authorities, and once again teachers found themselves without pay or unemployed.

A government commission was set up in 1967 to review the whole relationship between the central administration and the local councils, but its report was never published. In 1968 a new Education Act defined the powers of both local and central authorities much more closely. In effect, whilst leaving the actual running of the first-level schools in the hands of the local authorities, the Act clearly made the planning and ultimate control of the first-level schools a responsibility of the central government. Its intention was made clear by the Hon. Tom Mboya in this comment on it:

> 'There is a need to have more government say and control in the education of the people of the country. We can no longer continue with the system by which you have pockets of authority all over the country, deciding what and how to conduct education throughout the country. There must be established a definite area of government control if we are going to implement our policies . . . The very idea of building a nation means that government must have the instruments by which to control education so that the products from the school reflect the society and the nation we want to build'.[1]

Despite the new powers of the central government, the actual pattern of first-level educational development was little changed. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that increasing dissatisfaction arose in many quarters with the county councils' role in first-level education. The central government and the teachers' union, in particular, argued that the county councils' powers should be decreased or abolished. Yet the councils themselves argued that their powers, especially in the areas which have less influence on central government policy (for instance, to raise school fees), were far too restricted to allow them to perform their duties properly.

This situation was finally resolved just before the general election of 1969, when the government drastically changed its relationship with the county councils, taking over, amongst other powers, the direct control of first-level education, and reinstating district education boards as a way of enlisting local co-operation.

Pre-first level (day-care centres, nursery schools)

While traditional first-level schooling has so far been the main issue in the relations between the local authorities and the central government as far as education is concerned, immense self-help educational activity has been taking place at two other levels. The origins of the nursery school movement to provide education at the pre-first level go back to the establishment of a community development division by the colonial government's department of African affairs. Community development officers were charged to discover the needs felt by local communities and to foster the formation of self-help groups to tackle these needs. The care

1. T.J. Mboya, quoted in G. Cowan, *The politics of primary education*, (a study on Kenya), Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1970.

and training of young children was soon put forward as a need, and a number of so-called nursery schools, with untrained monitors taking charge, was established. With the coming of independence this movement gained increasing momentum, and providing for nursery schools has become one of the major tasks of the Department of Community Development, now part of the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services. So far, no apparent conflict has arisen over the control of these nursery schools. In the great majority of cases, they have been formed by self-help groups, usually women, with more or less advice from the local community development assistant, and sometimes support from the local councils and local development committees. In some instances, the more wealthy county councils have either started or taken over nursery schools, but in doing so, have worked quite effectively with the Department of Community Development, and there is some indication that, with the recent takeover of first-level education by the central government, county councils are taking an increasing interest in nursery schools. In urban areas, municipal councils generally provide a nursery school service, although frequently this service is supplemented by self-help and entrepreneural efforts.

In order to meet the growing demand for pre-first-level service, the Department of Community Development has begun to develop a supervisory service and two training centres for staff; in order to lessen the strictly educational emphasis it now refers to pre-school institutions as 'day-care centres'.[1]

Second-level schools

In most of the advanced areas of the country, second-level education was a crucial issue at independence. The colonial government had been particularly slow in developing it and the rising numbers of first-level school-leavers caused an especially heavy demand for second-level school places. During the first year after independence, under the regional councils, the position was rather confused, and while some new aided schools were established in certain areas, especially in Central Province, self-help groups began to develop their own new *harambee* second-level schools. Although the regional councils imposed some controls, the most important being that at least shs. 40,000 must be collected before a school could be started, in reality they did little to control the movement. Thus, when the central government took over second-level education and instituted new efforts to build aided second-level schools, these efforts were paralleled by a growing self-help movement which has achieved remarkable results.

There has always been concern about the standards of self-help second-level schools, expressed strongly in the *Kenya Education Commission report*, Volumes I and II. Initially, the Ministry of Education instituted checks, by applying the shs. 40,000 limit and establishing a registration procedure which required an approved manager under the 1953 Education Act (usually either a mission or

1. *Day-care centres*, Nairobi, Longman, 1970. (The Department of Community Development has now produced a handbook on the operation of day-care centres).

a county council). A school had to be approved by the county council and then the provincial education officer before it could be registered. However, pressure became so great in many areas that politicians short-circuited these requirements to get schools registered, and in other cases schools merely went through these formalities after they had been started, in a number of cases never completing them.

In 1966 a conference of *harambee* school headmasters was held under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, and a series of recommendations for government help—emphasizing in-service courses for teachers, better teacher materials and advice from education officials, particularly in relation to finance—were put forward in order to bring these schools into closer co-operation with the government.[1] To some extent, these recommendations were put into effect, and further controls were instituted when the local and district development committees came into operation and attempted to rationalize development plans and prevent duplication of effort. In 1967 the Ministry of Education made a new policy decision to take over a carefully-phased number of schools each year, and this has also served to act as a steadying influence. But as the elections of 1969 grew near, the political situation led politicians to become active once again in the education field. Further schools were encouraged, and the Ministry of Education was forced into making widespread commitments in the form of *ad hoc* aid and extra teachers, with little regard for the requirements of the educational development plan.

1. J.E. Anderson, 'The *harambee* schools headmasters' conference', *Discussion paper*, Institute for Development Studies, University College, Nairobi, 1966.

III. The financing of education

Like most developing countries Kenya, since independence, has committed large amounts of her resources to the development of formal education. Table 4 gives an estimate of the total central government spending on education since 1964, compared with the total government budget and the gross national product.

TABLE 4. Central government expenditure on education, 1964/65-1969/70. (K£'000)

	Educational spending			Total budget	G.N.P.
	Recurrent	Capital	Total		
1964/65	...	...	6 810	70 637	353 290
1965/66	...	...	6 994	77 519	351 430
1966/67	7 161	763	7 924	88 884	409 630
1967/68	7 870	1 974	9 844	93 986	432 890
1968/69	8 864	2 867	11 731	100 202	459 050
1969/70	10 141	2 176	12 317	108 663	...

NOTE These estimates are based on the total spending of the Ministry of Education, the payments out of the Ministry of Local Government block grants-in-aid used by the local authorities for formal education, and the payments by the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services for adult education (mainly literacy work). In each case, account is taken of the respective appropriations in aid. However, these estimates do not include the educational work in day-care centres and youth centres, paid for by the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services, nor the agricultural education in farmers' training centres and 4K clubs, paid for by the Ministry of Agriculture, amounting to at least a further million pounds per annum in 1968. Nor is account taken of any revenue raised by local authorities or self-help contributions.

SOURCE *Statistical abstracts, 1969*, Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, Statistics Division.

Table 5 takes a closer look at the breakdown of the Ministry of Education spending for the period 1964-70, and shows the emphasis on second-level education. In the case of first-level education, the table needs further clarification. The recurrent figures relate only to central government administrative costs, and the fall indicates a gradual streamlining of these costs. The rise in the 1969/70 estimates, however, relates to a new central government input in the form of a

team of specially-trained first-level school supervisors being created in conjunction with Unicef. The central government contribution to the actual running of first-level schools is made as part of the block grant-in-aid given to each county council, and cannot, therefore, be accounted for in detail. Some estimates of the total central government recurrent expenditure on first-level education are given in the 1970-74 Development Plan, and show a considerable rise since independence, i.e., from K£1,649,000 in 1963/64 to K£3,240,000 in 1968/69.

TABLE 5. Ministry of Education expenditure, 1964/65-1969/70 (net of appropriations in aid) (K£'000)

	First level		Second level		Total		
	Recurrent	Capital	Recurrent	Capital	Recurrent	Capital	Grand total
1964/65	294 [1]	15 [1]	2 160	338	3 537	453	3 990
1965/66	73	—	2 106	577	4 855	819	5 674
1966/67	59	—	2 748	103	5 793	701	6 494
1967/68	42	—	3 374	1 300 [2]	6 699	1 886	8 585
1968/69	41	—	3 878	1 702 [2]	7 814	2 758	10 572
1969/70	57	—	4 170	790 [2]	8 734	1 914	10 648

1. Costs for first-level education were controlled by the central government for part of the year 1964/65, consequent upon the alteration of the constitution and abolition of the regions.
2. Estimate including IDA project expenditure on second-level education.

SOURCES *Annual reports*, 1964-68. op. cit. Estimates of recurrent and capital expenditure, 1969-70.

If the 1968/69 recurrent figures for the local authorities are analysed, as in Table 6, the actual sources of payments for the recurrent costs of first-level education become clearer.

The estimates of 1969/70 show rising education costs, due mainly to an increase in teachers' salaries to K£11,500,000, creating a total county council deficit of K£8,100,000, and it is largely for this reason that in 1970/71 payments for first-level education will become, along with those for health and roads, the responsibility of the respective government ministries.

So far, the emphasis has been on recurrent costs, for county councils account for only a very small proportion of capital costs. An estimate made by the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services puts their contribution to capital costs in first-level education at between K£10,000 and K£11,000, i.e., 1.2 per cent of the total. Before considering in detail how capital costs are met, it is interesting to note the following passage from the *Kenya Education Commission report*, Vol. II, of 1965, which sets out an important précis of Kenya's educational development philosophy:

'In the populous country areas, first-level schools have traditionally been built by self-help, either in mud and wattle, or in more permanent materials.

TABLE 6. Local authorities' costs and revenues, 1968/69 (K£'000)

County council costs			County council revenues	
Administration		1 200	Rates, rents, indirect taxes	2 600
Other services:	Health	1 300	Graduated personal tax	3 100
	Agric. Comm. dev.	1 300		
	Roads	1 500		
Other costs (total)		5 300		
Education		9 600	School fees	3 300
GRAND TOTAL		14 900	GRAND TOTAL	9 000
			Deficit (to be met by central govt.)	5 900
				14 900

NOTE The county councils have to call upon central government help in financing a global deficit of K£5,900,000. This deficit is caused mainly by the education cost, of which the county councils finance K£6,400,000 with their revenue from school fees and graduated personal tax; a further K£3,200,000 is financed by the government.
SOURCE Republic of Kenya, *Development plan, 1970-74*, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1969.

Since both labour and materials have been contributed, in the main, by the community served by the school, it has been the practice for the capital outlay to be ignored by those responsible for educational planning. In the urban areas, on the other hand, it has been necessary to satisfy sanitary and building requirements laid down by the municipal council. Construction has been in permanent materials and has constituted a charge against (more readily available) municipal revenues. In the remoter pastoral areas, such as Wajir or Marsabit, it has also been necessary to erect permanent school buildings by contract and to bring in materials for the purpose.

'In Paragraphs 139 to 141, we referred to the need for improvements in first-level school premises and we suggested how the impulse towards self-help might be reinforced by the provision of materials by the local authority. [To meet the recommendations of the Commission] we calculate that the capital cost of new schools, in addition to existing schools, would amount to a total of between K£13 millions and K£16 millions over the period from 1965 to 1980, including the requisite teachers' houses.'

In accordance with this statement, the Ministry of Education's estimates have shown no allocation to capital costs. One other source of central government capital input is the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services' grants to self-help projects which include both central government funds and foreign aid (e.g., Oxfam and USAID). In 1968, this source is estimated to have provided between

K£25,000 and K£26,000, or about 4-5 per cent of the total effort. In total then, only about 7 per cent of the costs of capital development of first-level schools come from sources outside the local community. In most areas, these grants take the form of materials (corrugated iron sheets or cement) given to support self-help groups in their efforts.

It can be seen, therefore, that capital development and maintenance in first-level education are based almost entirely on community self-help effort. The operation of this process is described in further detail in the next section, but a fuller picture of the financial aspect of self-help in educational capital development is given in Tables 7 and 8.

TABLE 7. Estimated total capital formation in Kenya through self-help methods 1965-68

1965	K£ 800 000	1967	K£2 200 000
1966	K£1 200 000	1968	K£2 700 000

SOURCE Ministry of Economic Planning and Development Survey, 1967-68.

TABLE 8. New educational institutions 1964-68

	First level	Second level	Teachers' houses	Pre-first level	Youth centres
1964	1 845	—	—	1 219	30
1965	893	84	—	2 731	96
1966	745	93	—	1 966	23
1967	1 146	70	1 869	969	40
1968	1 123	86	2 033	1 269	40

NOTES 1. Prior to 1966, the figures refer to institutions at which capital self-help work took place (construction or repair of buildings). Figures for 1967 and 1968 refer to actual classrooms or houses completed during the year.
2. In second-level schools, buildings are largely in permanent materials. In the institutions temporary materials are largely used.

SOURCE Department of Social Services, *Annual report*, 1966.
Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, *Statistical survey*, 1967/68.

Detailed statistics of inputs into self-help effort are not available prior to 1967, but estimates for 1967 and 1968 based on the returns of community development officers show the self-help inputs into various educational categories, i.e.:

(a) *Formal education* (Ministry of Education)
  (i) First-level education (classrooms, offices, etc.);
  (ii) Second-level education (classrooms, offices, laboratories, libraries);
  (iii) Teachers' houses (for both second and first levels).

TABLE 9. Contributions to self-help development in Kenya. National summary 1967

	K£'000			Percentages		
	Contributions by the people	Other sources	Total	Contributions by the people	Other sources	Total
Formal education						
Second-level schools	291.3	10.6	309.9	94.0	6.0	100.0
First-level schools	500.9	35.4	536.3	93.4	6.6	100.0
Teachers' houses	134.7	1.8	136.5	98.7	1.3	100.0
Total	926.9	53.8	980.7	94.3	5.7	100.0
Social facilities						
Day-care centres	132.1	11.2	143.3	92.2	7.8	100.0
Youth centres	10.7	1.9	20.6	90.8	9.2	100.0
Total	1 077.7	68.9	1 146.6	93.4	6.6	100.0
GRAND TOTAL	1 832.1	124.2	1 956.3	93.7	6.3	100.0

SOURCE Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, Statistics Division, *The output of self-help schemes*, 1967

TABLE 10. Contributions to self-help development, Kenya, 1968. National summary (K£'000)

	Contributions by the people				Contributions other sources				
Type of project	Labour	Materials	Cash	Total	Central govt., inc. foreign aid	Local auth.	Other	Total	Total
Formal education									
Level II	44.7	179.7	173.8	398.2	12.5	5.7	17.8	36.0	434.2
Level I	143.5	266.9	210.3	620.7	25.2	10.5	4.4	40.1	660.8
Teachers' houses	61.7	84.6	47.3	193.6	1.3	0.3	0.4	2.0	195.6
Total	249.9	531.2	431.4	1 212.5	39.0	16.5	22.6	78.1	290.6
Social facilities									
Day-care	70.2	76.0	37.1	183.3	5.7	0.5	1.7	7.9	191.2
Youth centres	5.8	7.6	4.6	18.0	0.8	0.5	0.5	1.8	12.8
Total all education	325.9	614.8	473.1	1 143.8	45.5	17.5	24.8	87.8	1 494.6
Grand Total all projects	619.7	1 073.1	829.5	2 522.3	[illegible]	28.2	36.5	154.8	2 677.0

SOURCE Self-help schemes, 1968, statistical analysis.
Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services.
Department of Community Development and Social Services.

(b) *Informal education* (Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services)

(i) Nurseries/day-care centres;

(ii) Youth centres.

Table 9 shows the actual capital contribution for each of these categories in 1967, and compares the educational inputs with the total value of the national self-help effort. For 1968 two tables are given. Table 10 gives the input values of cash, materials and labour, and also the total value of the self-help effort. Table 11 gives the percentages for comparative purposes.

A brief analysis of these tables shows the extent to which the educational sector dominates self-help efforts: K£1,146,600, or approximately 60 per cent of the total value in 1967, and K£1,494,600, or approximately 55 per cent of the total value in 1968. It is important to bear these figures in mind when we come to consider the role of the self-help factor in pre-first-level, first-level and second-level education.

TABLE 11. Contributions to self-help projects, Kenya, 1968. National summary in percentages

	Contributions by people				Contributions other sources				
Type of project	Labour	Materials	Cash	Total	Central govt. inc. foreign aid	Local auth.	Other	Total	Total
Formal education									
Level I	10.3	41.4	40.0	91.7	2.9	1.3	4.1	8.3	100.0
Level II	21.7	40.4	31.8	93.9	3.8	1.6	0.7	6.1	100.0
Teachers' houses	31.6	43.2	24.2	99.0	0.6	0.2	0.2	1.0	100.0
Total	19.4	41.9	33.4	93.9	3.0	1.4	1.7	6.1	100.0
Social facilities									
Day-care	36.7	39.8	19.4	95.9	2.9	0.3	0.9	4.1	100.0
Youth centres	29.2	38.4	23.8	91.4	3.8	2.3	2.5	8.6	100.0
Total all education	28.4	40.0	25.2	93.6	3.2	1.3	1.9	6.4	100.0
Grand total all projects	23.1	40.1	31.0	94.2	3.4	1.0	1.4	5.8	100.0

SOURCE Self-help schemes, 1968, a statistical analysis.
Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services.
Department of Community Development and Social Services.

IV. The self-help factor in first-level education

During the first years of independence, the control of first-level education in a given county or district passed from the defunct education board to the county council, and the actual management of schools passed, in most cases, from the missionary societies to the county councils, though as this process took place slowly, some missionary managements retained a strong influence over schools and their development. In practice, county councils found it difficult to maintain a clear control of the development of first-level schools. When the need for a school was felt in a location, groups of parents negotiated through their local councillors, or through one of the local missionary managers, or through both, for a new school. Usually such schools were approved, because county councillors placed a high priority on education in order to keep their voters happy, and where a school was not approved immediately, the committee was often led to expect that if it started the school on an unaided basis, it would be accepted for aid in the near future. In this respect, using the mission managers proved a convenient way of getting official registration for an unaided school.

Because the county councils were, in general, ready to spend their funds on education and to accept new schools, very few first-level schools remained unaided for long, unless they chose to do so. Tables 12, 13 and 14 show the extent to which provision of first-level education has been expanded in Kenya, and give some indication of the part self-help effort has played within both the aided and unaided sphere.

It is important to recognize that self-help methods play a vital part in maintaining the aided as well as the unaided schools. However, before considering the financial impact of self-help in either sort of school, it may be helpful to look at the kind of relationship which first-level schools have with the local communities that support them. This means focusing particularly on the school committees found in almost every school, aided or unaided.

School committees

The idea of the school committee goes back to the establishment of formal schools in Kenya, when communities had to come together to provide land and buildings.

TABLE 12. The increase in first-level schools during the period 1963-69

	Aided	Unaided	Total
1963	5 754	140	5 894
1964	5 051	99	5 150
1965	4 967	111	5 078
1966	5 596	103	5 699
1967	5 849	110	5 959
1968	6 004	131	6 135
1969	—	—	6 132 [1]

1. Provisional figure.

NOTE The net increase in first-level schools is 238. However, during this period some 300 first-level schools were taken over to become *harambee* second-level schools, and thus in many cases replaced by new first-level schools. No detailed statistics are available for these takeovers, but a reasonable estimate for newly-built first-level schools would be approximately 500. A further important point is that much building took place on the existing school sites in order to convert them from elementary schools with accommodation for four classes only to full first-level schools with seven classes, and there was also a considerable effort in several areas to improve or replace older school buildings, and to increase amenities such as offices and latrines.

Source *Annual reports*, 1963-69, op. cit.

TABLE 13. Standard I enrolment in first-level schools, 1963-69 [1]

1963	137 220	1967	228 769
1964	180 290	1968	250 757
1965	195 733	1969	252 787 [2]
1966	193 909		

1. Separate figures for unaided and aided schools are not available.
2. Provisional figure.

SOURCE *Annual reports*, 1963-69, op. cit.

TABLE 14. Total enrolment in first-level schools, aided and unaided, 1963-69

	Aided	Unaided	Total
1963	880 016	11 537	891 553
1964	1 007 598	7 121	1 014 719
1965	1 001 654	9 235	1 010 889
1966	1 034 911	8 505	1 043 416
1967	1 123 790	9 389	1 133 179
1968	1 199 076	10 604	1 278 793 [1]

1. Provisional figure.

NOTE The total increase in the seven-year period was 387,340 or 30 per cent which, apart from the new entrants to standard I, is accounted for by the increased numbers phased into standards 5, 6 and 7 during the period 1962-67.

SOURCE *Annual reports*, 1963-69, op. cit.

At that time, schools were very closely related to mission churches, and committees tended to be composed of church elders. In due course, however, more democratic procedures developed and if church nominees are still found on many committees, these are now largely composed of members elected by the locality.

The actual process of election varies, but committees are usually elected at open meetings by the parents from the school catchment area. Ideally, respected and responsible people are chosen, and the committee becomes the focal point for educational interest in the area. It is the official body for negotiations with the educational authorities, the local council, self-help committees, and through the local chief, the government administration, in all matters concerning the school. In conjunction with the headmaster, the committee also determines the type of support which parents will give the school, for instance, by arranging work days to do such tasks as constructing or repairing buildings or digging latrines. In cases where parents fail to turn up, the committee usually imposes a fine as a form of discipline. The committee may arrange money collections amongst parents to provide for building materials, and it has to account for the funds raised and used. Further, it has to keep the parents informed about school affairs, arrange for parents' visiting days and parent/teacher meetings, and also keep the headmaster and teachers informed of the parents' views of how the school is being run. In this respect, it is likely to press for good examination results and to become critical of teachers if these are not obtained.

The success with which school committees perform their functions varies greatly. Some are subject to personal and parochial rivalries, others suffer because of the incompetence of their members. Hence they often have difficulty both in retaining the confidence of the parents and in working constructively with the teachers. Much depends on the personalities involved. Where a headmaster and a committee make a genuine effort to co-operate, a very successful relationship can be developed between the school and the surrounding people. On the other hand, where breakdowns occur between teachers and the local inhabitants, schools suffer, not least in that classrooms are left unrepaired and amenities, such as latrines, uncared for. Sometimes a committee becomes split or loses the confidence of a section of the parents, and a continuous time-consuming process of negotiation and reconciliation has to take place, often involving the headmaster in the role of mediator. If there is a complete breakdown, the government administration, in the person of the local chief, has to step in, usually to arrange meetings at which grievances can be aired and, where necessary, to settle arguments or arrange new elections. Nevertheless, despite its vulnerability, the school committee is a key institution for any first-level school, whether aided or unaided, that relies to a large extent on local self-help methods for its development and maintenance.

In the 1968 Education Act the central government recognized this and, while it reduced the powers of the county council as education authority, it gave an official status to the individual school committees, instituting for every school a properly constituted committee composed of representatives of the local authority, the community served by and serving the school, and, where applicable,

the religious sponsor.[1] Thus, the central government prepared the way for the new arrangements for financing first-level education under which the Ministry of Education, by working through the new district education boards, can co-operate with school committees as official bodies and utilize the self-help support for schools which they control.

Aided schools: capital costs

As tables 12-14 show, the great majority of self-help building takes place within the aided schools, in some cases to extend already existing schools and, in others, to build new schools which are accepted by the county councils for aid, either immediately or soon after they have been established. The long tradition of self-help in school building has served the county councils well, for where parents are ready to build schools from local resources, the councils are able to reserve their limited funds for the recurrent costs of teachers' salaries, books and equipment. School buildings are often constructed from local materials (mud and poles, baked bricks, offcut timber) depending on the area. However, in many cases, improved features are added, for instance, concrete floors and corrugated iron roofing; in the more wealthy areas, there is now a growing tendency to build in permanent materials, either stone, breeze block, or hand-made or compressed cement blocks. Where funds have been available, some county councils have tried to improve the standard of building by making donations of cement or corrugated iron sheets to a particular self-help group, and in a few cases have taken on the responsibility for building complete classrooms in stone in order to give a lead to the parents. Of course, in the urban areas, like Nairobi, Narkuru and Kisumu, the situation is different. The municipal councils have considerably more funds available, and they normally provide permanent school buildings.

A further source of building materials and technical assistance which some school committees have tapped has been the missions. Missionaries, particularly the catholics, still have considerable local funds for capital development and can also make appeals overseas for funds; they will usually provide funds and technical assistance (they have a long experience of building in rural areas) to support self-help groups which are influenced by their faith or which might become sympathetic to it. For despite the gradual tendency to move from mission management to local authority management, and where they agree to 'sponsorship' by a particular mission, the missionaries have the right to control religious teaching in the school. In a few cases, notably that of the Mama Ngina first-level school in Kiambu, schools have been able to attract support from charitable organizations, such as the Lions Club, and from various industrial groups, such as the British-American Tobacco Company and Caltex, but schools which receive such help are the exception rather than the rule and tend to be located near urban centres.

1. Republic of Kenya, *Education Act, 1968*, Nairobi, Government Printer, Section 9.

The other important source of help has gradually come into being through the self-help development committees. These committees have been organized by the Community Development Department of the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services throughout the country in order to rationalize and co-ordinate the *harambee* self-help effort in all its aspects. At the local level, small elected committees, guided by a community development assistant, agree on a set of priorities for local development and on the method of self-help work and collections. These priorities may sometimes conflict with the interests of a particular school committee, and one of the basic problems at this level is to fit each small self-help effort—a cattle dip, a road improvement project, a water scheme, a first-level or pre-first-level school—into a cohesive and economically acceptable pattern. Once agreed upon, the plans of the local development committees have to be co-ordinated at the district level. The district, which is a government administrative unit controlled by a district commissioner and served directly by a district community development officer, has not only to resolve the conflicts that may arise between locations, but also to accommodate the plans with those made by the area county council. Thus conflicts can easily arise between a 'district view' and a 'county view' about the development of a particular area, and these conflicts have to be resolved by the planning committee. Once district plans are agreed upon, they have to be co-ordinated at the provincial level, where the provincial planning officer, a member of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development staff, acts as an overall co-ordinator and attempts to rationalize each provincial plan and to bring it into line with national development planning.

Besides the advisory powers of its officers, the Department of Community Development uses its powers to make grants to self-help projects as a method of securing co-operation in planning at the district and local level. It has a fixed amount of self-help funds, approximately K£10,000 per annum, which it can allocate to worthwhile projects in each province. Grants are usually made in the form of building materials, and many first-level schools have benefited from this form of help, which is now being increasingly supplemented by grants from overseas organizations such as CARE which should, in theory, be channelled to schools in needy areas through the Department of Community Development. Table 15 lists some of the first-level schools which received aid from CARE in 1968/69.

Aided schools: recurrent costs

The transfer of educational control from the district education boards to the county councils in the period immediately following independence coincided not only with the expansion of existing schools to standard VII, but also with a considerable rise in the actual costs of teaching. This rapid increase in the recurrent costs caused immense financial difficulties, especially as the self-help effort of parents in building schools often took on a momentum of its own with little

TABLE 15. Selection of first-level schools which received aid from CARE, 1968/69

School	District	Assistance given (shs.)	School	District	Assistance given (shs.)
Loarengak	Turkana	8 651	Balamabala	Garissa	6 182
Kakimba	South Nyanza	23 527	Madaraka	Kiamba	...
Mado Gashe	Garissa	8 801	Engelia	Samburu	4 134
Habasweni	Garissa	6 980			

SOURCE Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Development, Department of Community Development.

reference to the capacity of the council to meet the rapidly rising recurrent costs involved.

Firstly, the new approach to first-level teaching developed just prior to independence with its emphasis on skill training, activity methods, the use of English as a teaching medium, and new approaches to first-level mathematics and science, began to spread rapidly, increasing the cost of equipment and textbooks in the lower first-level school and requiring better trained and hence more costly teachers. Secondly, whilst some changes within the class/teacher ratio were made, the extension of so many schools to standard 7 also required the employment of more teachers, especially well-trained and hence costly teachers.

Basically, county councils have three sources of funds with which to cover school costs:

1. School fees (which they are allowed to charge by the Ministry of Education) ranging from shs.30 to shs.60 for standards I-III, and from shs.60 to shs.85 for standards IV-VII. Each county's rate is set in accordance with its estimated needs.
2. A subvention for education from the central government, paid through the Ministry of Local Government, in conjunction with the estimated fee revenue. This allows for a flat rate of shs.15 per pupil to be spent on school equipment.
3. The graduated personal tax (GPT) which a county is allowed to charge at a rate fixed by the central government. In many cases, this is fixed by estimating the income a family obtains from its farm, and is very difficult to collect.

The estimates quoted in the previous section in relation to recurrent expenditure on first-level education in 1968 show that, for the nation as a whole, the figures were approximately as follows:

K£ 3 200 000 from central government funds;
K£ 3 300 000 from school fees;
K£ 3 100 000 from county council revenues through GPT, rates, rents, etc.

TOTAL K£ 9 600 000

Thus the local community pays, through fees or through some form of taxation, for approximately two-thirds of the recurrent costs of first-level education. The change making the central government responsible for first-level education costs is unlikely to alter this situation.

Let us now deal with the question of the remission of fees. In the past, it has been the practice of county councils to remit fees in cases of hardship for 5-10 per cent of the children in school. There has been some dissatisfaction with this procedure, for whilst school committees indicate all cases of need, it is difficult to make a fair selection at the county council level, and there has been some concern about unfairness or favouritism. The central government in the National Development Plan 1970-74 now proposes to increase the proportion benefiting from fee remission to 15-20 per cent of all pupils, so as to encourage more parents to send children to school, and thus move nearer to universal first-level education. It is estimated that by doing this, and despite the 3 per cent per annum population growth, a 6 per cent increase in standard I enrolment will be achieved, thus bringing the enrolment ratio of children in the relevant age group to 75 per cent by 1974—a total enrolment for that year of approximately 1.8 million pupils. The government will, however, have to ensure that it is the less wealthy districts as well as the less wealthy families who benefit from remission of fees.

In practice, the financing of education has lately become increasingly difficult, for, as the cost of equipment and teachers' salaries has risen, the central government has prevented, for obvious political reasons, any increases in school fees or graduated personal tax (GPT), but has not allowed for sufficient increases in its subventions (made as part of the block grant to local authorities). County councils have been forced into expedients, such as deliberately employing less experienced or untrained teachers instead of trained ones, laying off teachers for part of the year, and hence forcing schools to rearrange teaching programmes and to cover pupils' needs less fully. In many cases, nearly the whole of the government block grant and the GPT is spent on education causing other services, such as roads and health, to suffer. Parental self-help methods have done little to alleviate this situation. In some instances, teachers do make *ad hoc* arrangements for parents to pay for certain books, usually supplementary ones, but this puts the less wealthy children at a disadvantage and cannot be taken too far.

Under the present conditions, the national cost for recurrent expenses in first-level education is K£8 per head, although there are obviously great differences between the various districts. However, this cost must rise if better-qualified teachers are to be recruited and better equipment to be provided. Thus, in taking over the responsibility for first-level education, the central government is likely to face a considerable increase in expenditure.

Unaided schools

There has been a net decrease in unaided schools, which now play a relatively small part in first-level education. The actual number of such schools remains fairly steady, fluctuating around the 120 mark, with about 9,000 pupils in all.

In relation to total enrolment, however, there was a drop from 1.26 per cent to 0.87 per cent between 1964 and 1968. Unaided first-level schools are made up of three distinct groups:

1. Schools run privately, either by foundations or educational boards, (e.g. the Aga Khan schools), or for profit by serving wealthy groups, (e.g. the schools for the various expatriate national groups in Nairobi). In general, such schools are only found in the larger urban centres.
2. Schools established by missions or churches which wish to maintain control of their own educational institutions, the most notable example being the Seventh Day Adventists in South Nyanza.
3. Schools which have been established by local communities for some special reason, and which have not been accepted for aid by the local authorities. The reasons for establishing such schools vary; in some cases, parents believe that their children have to walk too far to school, and usually this situation is resolved by the local authority taking over the school as soon as it feels it has sufficient funds to do this. In other cases, the reasons can be traced to local or denominational rivalries which have prevented the local authority from rationalizing the school provision in a given area.

Unlike the first two groups, which tend to remain fairly static, the third group is very much a changing one. At any time, a change in local authority policy or some other aspect of the local scene, for instance, the induction of a new local pastor, may mean the granting of aid. On the other hand, unaided schools may suddenly appear in an area because a county council cannot, for the moment, meet the needs of the area for new schools, or because it disagrees with local parents or a local manager about the need for a particular school at a particular time. Thus it is the third group of schools which largely accounts for the fluctuating pattern of unaided school provision and which is also the most interesting from the point of view of the self-help contribution to first-level education, although it should be pointed out that no clear boundary can be drawn between the second and third groups. Whilst the missionary/church groups involved usually do provide capital and technical assistance, they rely heavily on community effort and, in certain cases, when they think the time is right, apply for aided status.

Whilst the number of rural African unaided first-level schools is relatively very small, they do perform, apart from providing education, two other useful functions. First, they provide a model of self-help activity in first-level education and help to continue a valuable tradition; second, they also provide a useful safety-valve for communities which temporarily cannot secure the educational services they feel they need.

With regard to actual organization, the unaided first-level schools differ little from the aided ones. The committees are elected and operate along the lines already described. Of course, the key issue for the unaided school is finding the recurrent costs for equipment and teachers' salaries, and this does cause a strain, because recurrent payments have to be kept up each month.

A more complete picture of the operation of an unaided first-level school can be gained from the case study of Kahuhu unaided first-level school in the

Mathira division of Nyeri District, in the central province of Kenya. It should be stressed that, with regard to capital costs, it operates very similarly to the aided schools, and thus serves to illustrate the self-help input into Kenyan first-level education. With regard to recurrent costs, it does not reflect the norm, but nevertheless provides some very useful insights into the self-help effort.

A case study of an unaided first-level school: Kahuhu

Kahuhu school is sited in a very fertile area suitable for cash-crop farming, particularly tea and grade cattle. During the last ten years or so the largely peasant population has gradually increased the quality of its farming so that now the area is one of the most advanced peasant agricultural areas in Africa. The school is sited centrally, roughly equidistant from the county first-level schools in the district, the nearest one being just over two miles away. There is general agreement amongst the local people that there is a need for a school, especially for the younger children (5-7 years), for whom the long distances to the county schools would present problems. Parents are particularly concerned about the long day their children would face without food (African food does not normally lend itself to packed lunches) and the tiring journey for which the younger children would have to be escorted, usually by older children. There is a real concern amongst the parents about the security of their children on their journey to school.

The school was established in 1967, the initiative coming jointly from the local Roman Catholic church and the local community, especially the twelve people who formed the school committee. These committee members have more ideas and drive than most of the village peasants, but not the degree of enterprise needed to start such a venture completely independently, particularly with regard to the financing of the school. However, the local Roman Catholic priest was viewed favourably by the local people and, with Roman Catholic initiative, the project got under way. The catholic priest was instrumental in formalizing the committee, which became strongly influenced by him. He established himself as consultant to the committee, and is visited regularly by the four most important committee members for advice. He, in fact, appears to act as treasurer for the committee, even though there is an appointed committee treasurer too.

It is difficult to appreciate fully the role of the catholic church in the venture, for it should be borne in mind that this area is predominantly protestant, that there is a tradition of rivalry between the catholic church (the Consolata Catholic Mission) and the protestant church (the Presbyterian Church of East Africa). There is a tendency illustrated throughout the county, for the catholic church, with its firm organization and strong overseas ties, to offer aid in this way. The local and completely africanized protestant church does not have the funds for such aid, and naturally the catholic church gains sympathy and interest through the aid it can offer, though it does not necessarily gain new adherents.

With regard to Kahuhu, the catholic church offered an initial contribution to capital development—half of the corrugated iron sheeting required for the first two classrooms together with a substantial loan which has not yet been

repaid and for which there appears to be no statement of account. The committee also required the assistance of the church with regard to the legal constitution of the school and relies heavily on the church with regard to the school's accounts. School fees, shs.20 per child per term, are paid directly to the headmaster, who then sends it to the Bishop's Office in Nyeri, where an official arranges for it to be banked. These fees are then used to pay the salaries of the two teachers at shs.172 per month, the headmaster, who receives shs.205 per month, and to buy books and stationery. Thus, the money for school fees is normally not handled by the local committee. The committee does, however, keep a record of parents and checks whether they appear for community work on appointed days. A fine of shs.5 is imposed on those who fail to do so. Apart from these 'fines', the committee only takes a major responsibility for handling finance when money has to be raised for a specific project, and, so far, such projects have been kept to a minimum, for in 1967, after a decision to levy shs.40 per parent to pay off the debt for the school roof, eleven parents withdrew their children from standard I. Withdrawal must be resisted at all costs, as the committee realises that if the school is to be viable it must be run to full capacity. Emergencies have occurred with regard to finance. In August 1968 and December 1969, both school holiday months, teachers' salaries could not be found. The first crisis was met by the committee and a few parents who donated the money, some shs.700 to pay the teachers, but at the time of this study, no solution had been reached on the backlog on the December salaries.

This situation indicates why it is very difficult for this type of school to maintain a proper accounting system. The committee does not draw in the money and then run the school. The school just seems to continue, although many parents are in debt, teachers are occasionally unpaid, and the committee members are forced to assist from their own pockets. Any formal auditing of accounts, especially if they showed a deficit, would only serve to shake the morale of parents, who might then withdraw their children and jeopardize the school still further.

For recurrent costs, the accounting system used is very simple. There are two receipt books, one kept by the headmaster for fees, and one by the committee treasurer for any occasional collections. All the money collected is banked via the Bishop's Office in a current account and the cheque signatories are any two of the chairman, secretary and treasurer. Cheques are signed by the officials when payments for salaries or equipment have to be made, but it is usually the local priest who cashes the cheques and makes the payments as he has transport and his parish duties take him to Nyeri regularly. A simple cash book, recording receipts and expenses, in which no clear distinction is made between capital and recurrent costs, is kept by the treasurer and supervised by the local priest. A summary of the accounts for the recurrent costs of the school for the first term of 1970 is given in Table 16, but it has had to be abstracted from the total accounts, which include estimates of contributions in kind for capital development, e.g., loads of offcut timber, labour, and receipts and payments for capital costs. In fact, by 30 April 1970 only shs. 2,400 had been collected, leaving the school in debt to the teachers for salaries for the holiday period, April 1970. The teachers

TABLE 16. Kahuhu first-level school: estimated balance sheet, first term of 1970.

Receipts	shs.	Costs	shs.
140 children, at shs. 20 per term (Jan-April, 1970)	2 800	H/master's salary, at shs 205 per month	820
		Two teachers' salaries at shs 172 each per month	1 376
		Sub-total	2 196
		Stationery, ex. books, etc.	360
		Textbooks	165
Sub-total	2 800	Sub-total	2 711
		Balance, (including committee expenses, back payments to teachers for 1969)	89
TOTAL	2 800	TOTAL	2 800

are still owed money from 1969 too. However, because the teachers are untrained and cannot get work anywhere else, they normally allow the debts to build up, because they realize that they will get salaries during term time from the next term's fees.

The spending on school equipment is ludicrously small and, although pupils share books, the actual provision does not reach that of a normal government-aided school. The school has now reached standard IV, but it has only three teachers (one teaching standard I in the mornings and standard II in the afternoons), insufficient books, and debts already owing to the teachers. Although, through the expedient of building up debts and cutting back on equipment, the school manages to keep going, its actual education provision is likely to suffer increasingly, especially as the older children require more books and better qualified teachers. One method of paying off the recurrent debts is to use capital donations, and this will probably be done, but, as noted below, most capital donations come in kind in the form of materials or labour.

The school stands on community land. To explain what community land really is, it is necessary to go back a little in history. During the emergency, which began in 1952, the colonial government, as a security measure, brought together many of the scattered homesteads in areas where there was evidence of strong 'terrorist' activity. Hence a process of villagization took place which has outlived its original purpose. The land on which the village stood was acquired by the government, partly by a form of coercion in convincing the people that such land was necessary for facilities such as chiefs' offices, schools, clinics etc., and partly by acquiescence of the original landowners, who were supposed to be offered land elsewhere.

Kahuhu community land, about 4½ acres, was originally owned by one person, who apparently was reluctant to give up his claim to it, and whose son today

is trying to obtain rent from the school committee, though so far with little success. The school and a nursery school occupy about half of this community land and the chief's camp a further acre, so that there is room for the school to expand. At present the school has four classrooms, each about 12m × 12m. A further classroom of similar size is sub-divided into a headmaster's office, which also serves as a school store, and a staffroom. The floors are of cement, the walls of local timber, and the roofing of corrugated iron sheets; in fact, the buildings are of a fairly good standard for a first-level school. These standards were insisted on by the parents, who did not want their children wasting time drawing water to spray on traditional earth floors; nor did they want to waste their own time repairing the more traditional mud and pole walls and thatched roofs which would have been cheaper.

The school was built largely by the self-help efforts of the local people, who provided most of the labour and materials to supplement the contribution made by the catholic church. On some occasions cash collections were taken and used to pay for extra materials, nails and cement, and for the skills of local craftsmen when needed. These expenses were shown as part of the recurrent costs in the accounting system. A shs.5 building fund charge is levied from each parent on his child commencing school, but this is frequently paid in kind or extra labour over and above the community work days called for by the committee.

It is difficult to put a cash value on the present buildings. However, the materials alone, including a donation from the Catholic Church of over shs.1,000 for roofing would amount to between shs.6,000 and shs.7,000, and with desks, blackboards, cupboards and tables, the total would come to about shs.9,000. If labour is included, the total would rise to between shs.12,000 and shs.13,000 for the five classrooms, or about shs.2,500 for each classroom. The parents hope to have sufficient funds eventually to build stone classrooms, to replace the present wooden shutters with windows, and to erect water tanks which will be fed from the roof guttering. At the moment, most of the water has to be fetched from the river about a mile away, down a steep slope. However, if these improvements are to be carried out, further capital collections will have to be made.

The parents do not seem daunted by the rather precarious financial state of their school. So far, money has always been found when the school has been really pressed, and there is confidence as the local people feel that their economic prospects are bright. Several parents and nearly all the committee members have doubled their income from tea growing in the last three years. Hence the committee does not yet feel that government assistance is necessary. In fact, they feel strong enough to 'bargain' with the government if there is to be any 'takeover' in the future, and they also feel that there are prospects for a second-level school on the site, because of its position in the district.

There have already been negotiations with the local education authorities as to the school's future relationships with the government. The school had no trouble initially in being granted a licence by the county council, largely because it had the sponsorship of the catholic church. There was no formal indication, however, of any future government takeover as there frequently

is in the case of other *harambee* schools. The school appears to be unsupervised, with no direct consultation between the committee and the County Education Officer. The school does not receive the usual education circulars and when teachers have attended in-service courses it has been on their own initiative, and not as a result of any government directive. Negotiations did take place in 1968 for a takeover by the local county authority, and early in 1969 there was an offer by the county authorities to take over the first two classes in the school, and to assimilate the standard III and IV children in the existing county schools. This proposal was rejected by the committee, supported by the parents, who felt that such a proposal would ruin the school they had created. It is not entirely clear why the county authorities put up this suggestion, for, at the second level, government aid is frequently given to a certain part of a school, the rest continuing on a *harambee* basis. Here the attitude appears to have been one of total takeover or total non-involvement. However, negotiations are still continuing and it is possible that some compromise will eventually be reached between the county authorities and the local community.

Educationally, the standard of the school is not high. One of the committee's greatest concerns is that the school has only three teachers for four classes, but it cannot afford a further teacher until there is a further class of children paying school fees. The actual qualifications of the staff do not seem to be of any great concern though, in fact, none of the teachers is trained. The headmaster has had seven years' teaching experience, and has, on his own initiative, attended two in-service courses during the last two years. One of the other teachers is a married woman, also untrained and with seven years of first-level schooling. The other teacher is a younger man, with a similar standard in education, plus one in-service course. He supplements his income by teaching an adult literacy class in the evenings. None of the teachers are local people, and they do not seem to have any particular influence in the village.

What are the parents' expectations for the school? They obviously want a school at Kahuhu, for the reasons mentioned above, but they want one at the same price as the government schools. A parent who has little cash income per month, perhaps shs.200, which is high by the country's standards, is perhaps willing to pay shs.20 per term to send his child to the nearby *harambee* first-level school, for this is the same as he would pay at the county first-level school. But he is reluctant, and in most cases unable, to pay more, especially in cash. Payments in kind are given more willingly, but it is not always easy or possible for a committee to convert five chickens and a day's labour into actual cash.

The school can survive as long as it can be seen to be competing reasonably with government schools. But should its expenses increase with a view to increasing standards, parents are likely to transfer their children to the local government schools, in spite of their distance from Kahuhu. So far, the school has managed to satisfy parents that it can offer a reasonable education up to the standard IV level, but it is unlikely that it will continue to do so under the present financial arrangements. Recurrent costs per child in the school are covered solely by fees, and even if all fees are collected, they will amount to only shs.60 per child

per year, whilst the national average in aided schools is shs.160. The real problems will arise at the time of the first leaving examinations. Parents will almost certainly begin to send the older children to government-aided schools where they will receive a better education for the same cost, and with older children the problem of distance does not arise. Then the paradox of Kahuhu school will become clear: as members of a community, the parents want a school at Kahuhu, but as parents of individual children for whom they want the best possible education, they will support the school only to the extent to which it meets their needs.

In all probability negotiations with the local authority, now the District Education Board, will lead to the school being taken over in one form or another, highlighting a national situation in which completely unaided first-level schools are exceptions, meeting special needs for a period of time until the government can take them over so that they fit into the more general pattern according to which capital development is generated by self-help and recurrent costs are met partly by fees and partly by central government grants.

V. The self-help factor in pre-first-level centres

'Community development is a process enlisting the people in planning and working for their own development.' These words, taken from the Revised Development Plan 1966-70, reflect the philosophy of the Community Development Department of the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services. As has already been shown, this approach has led at the local level to a considerable overlapping of the activities of the Community Develpment Department and the local authorities (county councils and district education boards) responsible for the provision of formal education. This is particularly true in the case of nursery schools or day-care centres. Officially, the Ministry of Education does not recognise institutions for children below the age of 6, and hence lower first-level school entry. Yet there is a very great demand for institutions for children below this age, not only in the urban areas, but also in most of the settled agricultural areas. One of the reasons is that parents believe in education as the way to a better life and take every opportunity to give their children the best and earliest possible start. But other reasons also play a part. Intensive cash crop farming increasingly takes more of a mother's time, while increased first-level schooling for girls takes other children and young female relatives, the traditional nursemaids, away from the homestead. Campaigns for the healthy development of children run by women's clubs stress the social and physical value of nursery training for the young. All these factors have combined to create a demand for pre-first-level schools. By 1969, there were officially 4,552 pre-first-level schools with 6,950 women teachers catering for 180,000 children. In practice, the numbers are likely to be higher, because the whole process of registration is only now coming into effect, and it seems likely that many small *ad hoc* groups will not have been accounted for.

The pre-first-level centre is one of the easiest self-help projects that a community can tackle, requiring only a very small piece of land to be 'loaned' and a locally-made building. A small group of women can get together to organize this and then arrange for one of their number to be paid on an *ad hoc* basis as the teacher. At its simplest this is what happens, but whilst many centres may have been started in this way, the involvement of community development officials and self-help committees has led to increasing refinements. Pre-first-level committees

with properly elected officials are normally constituted and some elementary form of estimating, budgeting and accounting is instituted, so that the treasurer collects donations and fees, pays teachers and, where possible, buys equipment. The construction and maintenance of buildings are tackled on community work days, and contributions in the form of materials and labour are accounted for, so that laggards can be fined or requested to do their share.

The problem which most of these centres face is training, or rather the lack of it; at least 50 per cent of the personnel has had no training, and the majority of those trained have only had a week's training course organized by a local community development official. There are now two centres, at Kwale and Kissii, which give a one-year course in pre-first-level work, but the classes are small and the fees, shs.900 per annum, although subsidized by the Community Development Department, are too high for all but a few. County councils should be responsible for paying, but only in a few cases can afford to do so. One or two women do pay for themselves in the hope of getting employment after the course, but once they have completed such a course they inevitably take better-paid posts in the municipal nurseries.

In order to cope with these problems, the Community Development Department has been using overseas volunteer service help and some Unicef aid aimed at developing an improved supervisory programme. One major aim of this programme is to counteract the tendency to use the nurseries as formal schools, for in many cases the pre-first-level school teacher, no matter how ill-educated, sees her role as teaching reading, writing and elementary arithmetic. This is normally done very badly with very limited equipment and may well be harmful, because some poorer parents deliberately send older children to these nursery centres, where the fees are less than those of the first-level schools (approximately shs.30 per year, instead of shs.60-70).

In order to alter the whole nature of pre-first-level care, the name 'nursery school' is no longer used by the Department of Community Development. Instead the title 'Day-care Centre' is being used with the aim of shifting the whole emphasis away from formal education to play activities, checks on health and nutrition, and some general skill training. This policy is reflected very clearly in the day-care centre handbook which the Department of Community Development has produced in conjunction with the publishers, Longmans of East Africa, for community development officers and day-care centre supervisors.

The case study of Thogoto day-care centre illustrates the capacity of a relatively small local community to develop and operate a low-cost centre for young children. There are clearly problems with the type of curriculum followed but there is some evidence that, with sufficient supervision from the community development officials, these can be overcome.

A case study of an unaided day-care centre: Thogoto

The school is situated in Kiambu district, about eighteen miles from the city of Nairobi. Several parts of Kiambu are fairly affluent, though the community

which this nursery serves is, on the whole, poor and practically illiterate. It is within reach of three first-level schools, two of them being about a mile away and a third three miles distant. One of the first-level schools is a fairly high-cost boarding school, strongly supported by the presbyterian church, and with a pre-first-level section of its own. This means that the parents who send their children to Thogoto day-care centre tend to be those who cannot afford the higher fees charged by the other pre-first-level school.

The history of this centre goes back to the fifties, during the emergency, when Red Cross and community development workers in the area joined together to organize groups of children, who were frequently fatherless and suffering from malnutrition, to come to centres to be fed and cared for. One of the teachers at the nursery today was, in fact, a member of such a team during that period, when her task was to feed the children and maintain standards of hygiene at the centre. The Red Cross eventually relinquished its responsibility, but the community development assistant for the area is still actively engaged in fostering the school and encouraging it to be self-supporting.

The school is controlled by a committee which consists of a chairman, secretary, treasurer, community development assistant and ten other members. There are few 'formal' committee meetings and no minutes are kept of proceedings. Nevertheless, the committee obviously exercises firm control. For example, if parents are unable to pay fees, the chairman is authorized to rent them some of the school land for a limited period in order that they may work it and thus raise the necessary fees. So far, this arrangement appears to have worked surprisingly well. The committee organizes communal work and 'fines' parents at the rate of shs. 5 per day if they fail to participate. It is also responsible for the appointment of staff and negotiates with them about their salaries.

A brief outline of the key personalities on this committee indicates their commitment and standing in the community they serve. The chairman is a well-respected leader in the area. He is about sixty, has first-level teaching qualifications, and has been a first-level school teacher for many years and headmaster of one of the nearby first-level schools for the last three years. He is a firm believer in self-help and is involved in other projects in the area besides the day-care centre. The treasurer is a local business woman of about forty, fairly literate and quite influential in the area. The secretary is a thirty-year-old housewife, with first-level schooling but no further education. The rest of the committee consists of seven men and three women, all middle-aged and respected members of the community. All have been members of the committee for some time, and there have been only two resignations over the last two or three years, one member moving to another district and one resigning because of ill health.

The salaried staff consists of two. One, mentioned above, has worked at the centre since its inception. She has only had about four years of education herself, but she does speak a little English. Her role is primarily to supervise the children at playtime and contribute to the singing activities. She receives a salary of shs. 72 per month. The second teacher is much younger and has had eight years of education. She has attended two pre-first-level training courses of a month

each organized by the Community Development Department at a nearby centre, and is responsible for the actual 'teaching' at the school. She is confident, enthusiastic, and—quite rare among people of her age group—very committed to the local community. Besides her pre-first-level work, she is a member of the local church choir and an active participant in any activities organized by the community development assistant. She is paid shs.80 per month and augments this by a further shs.40 per term by teaching an adult literacy class.

There is no actual timetable at the school. Children start arriving about 8 o'clock and are still arriving an hour later. Most of the time is occupied by story-telling and playing outside. The children also enjoy singing, especially the 'prestige' of singing in English, which probably none understand! In the middle of the morning there is a long break when the children help to clean the school under the supervision of the teachers. Afterwards, the younger teacher teaches reading and writing. The methods are very crude, but some of the older children (those aged seven) can do a little reading and writing. The youngest children, those about three to four years old, have a compulsory rest after 11 o'clock. The rest room is equipped with hard forms, sacks and one or two blankets. School ends at about 12 o'clock.

The school, built of offcut timber with a tin roof, is now rather old. There is very little in the way of equipment, one small blackboard and a few readers. 'Writing' is usually done with sticks in the sand outside. Most of the money for the original building came from personal donations, and there have been no improvements recently, although there are plans to construct an additional classroom and provide more desks. The labour required for this will come from the parents on a community work basis.

The school has a bank account where cheques can be cashed on the authority of three of the four signatories, the chairman, treasurer, secretary and community development assistant. Most of the expenses incurred consist of salaries, and income is obtained from school fees which are shs.10 per term. This amounts to about shs.500 per term as there are approximately fifty children at the nursery. Salaries amount to shs.474 per term, so there is virtually no money left to buy equipment, particularly as there are always a few defaulters or children withdrawn during the term. However, unlike the first-level school at Kahuhu, there is no backlog of debt and the centre is able to operate on the present basis of financing.

The role of the community development assistant is undefined, though he clearly has an influence on the centre, even though it is a self-help effort as yet unaided by any government agency. He sits on the school committee and has also been responsible for the initial construction work, as he was able to obtain the services of some pupils from a nearby 'approved' school, (a school for delinquent boys). He is also responsible for initiating in-service courses for the pre-first-level teachers, though not for the teachers' appointments to the school. There is, in this area, a children's centre for the physically handicapped run by the Red Cross, and the staff there have been able, with the community development officers in the district, to run in-service courses for pre-first-level teachers in the Kiambu area.

The future of the centre is not clear. It is completely self-supporting, with advisory help from the community development assistant as its only government assistance. It may be that with increased in-service courses for nursery teachers and possible further county council interest, now that the latter is no longer responsible for the first-level schools, a more suitable curriculum will result and better equipment will be made available. However, in spite of its shortcomings, this community day-care centre is a happy institution, on the whole well supported by the parents who send their children there. The main disadvantage seems to be that, with its limited staff, it is trying to cater for too wide an age group. Several children who attend ought really to be in first-level school, and are probably only continuing to attend this centre because their parents cannot afford the fees for first-level education. Now that government policy favours fee remissions in first-level schools, it is hoped that these older children will leave the day-care centre and go to first-level schools. Then the efforts made by the Community Development Department to improve the training of pre-first-level teachers and to re-orientate the curriculum may bear fruit, and a very valuable element of rural life will be developed almost entirely out of the self-help efforts of local communities.

VI. The self-help factor in second-level education

The most remarkable self-help achievements of the people of Kenya have probably been the *harambee* second-level schools. Whilst the efforts to establish and run pre-first-level and first-level schools have been made by relatively small groups of people, and turn very largely on readily available local materials and unskilled workers, the efforts to establish second-level schools and to keep them running require a high degree of organization, much larger groups of people, and, apart from the inputs of local labour and materials, large cash payments to cover both development and recurrent costs. The difficulties in meeting the recurrent costs faced by the community supporting Kahuhu self-help first-level school clearly demonstrate that the organization of a full-scale second-level school completely unaided makes very heavy demands on a small peasant farming community with relatively few educated people. Yet as table 17 shows, every effort made by the central government to increase second-level schools has been paralleled by the self-help efforts of local communities.

A clearer picture of the effects of self-help education is given in Table 18, which compares the distribution of classes and pupils in the aided and unaided sections of second-level education.

Before interpreting these tables, it should be pointed out that not all the unaided schools fit into the self-help category. Some are religious schools, provided and controlled largely by the various missions, e.g., Roman Catholic seminaries and Seventh Day Adventist schools. Others are private schools, operated by entrepreneurs seeking to make a profit, and a few schools cater almost exclusively for high fee-paying groups, mainly expatriates, in Nairobi. It is this group which includes forms 5 and 6 classes; [1] in addition, the 'private' and religious schools tend to be heavily represented in forms 3 and 4.

It is not easy to give precise statistics for the various categories of unaided schools, and thus isolate the self-help factor, because there are no really clear boundaries. Most mission schools do depend to some extent on self-help efforts, and a number of the privately-run schools also appear in the guise of self-help

1. Grades in first-level education are called *standards* I-VI; in second-level education there are *forms* 1-6.

TABLE 17. The development of second-level schools for African pupils in Kenya, 1945-68

	Aided	Unaided	Total
1945	4	—	4
1957	21	4	25
1960	33	8	41
1963	82 (36) [1]	13 (19) [1]	95 (55) [1]
1964	154	90	244
1965	186	181	367
1966	199	266 (13) [2]	465
1967	226	336 (9) [2]	542
1968	232	369 (26) [2]	601
1969	265	443 (33) [2]	708 [3]

1. At the time of independence, the distinction between African, Asian and European schools was dropped. Thus, the figures from 1964 onwards include the European and Asian schools. These are shown in brackets for 1963.
2. The figures given in brackets refer to unaided schools which became aided during that year and, therefore, appear in the aided totals, not the unaided ones. To get a cumulative total for all unaided schools that have been successfully established since independence, these numbers in brackets should be added to the total of 443 for 1969, giving a grand total of 524.
3. Provisional.

SOURCE *Annual reports*, op. cit. and *Statistical abstracts*, op. cit.

TABLE 18. Number of classes and pupils at each form level in aided and unaided schools, 1968

	Aided		Unaided		Total	
	Classes	Pupils	Classes	Pupils	Classes	Pupils
Form 1	438	15 169	561	20 455	999	35 624
Form 2	414	14 388	423	14 079	837	28 467
Form 3	384	12 899	210	6 648	594	19 347
Form 4	341	11 028	115	3 537	456	14 565
Form 5	81	1 734	5	35	86	1 769
Form 6	73	1 328	5	61	78	1 389

SOURCE *Annual reports*, op. cit.

schools in order to get government approval. An estimate for 1968 suggests that, of the total of 369 unaided schools in that year, 33 were religious schools, 70 were run on some private commercial basis, and a further 6 served the high fee-paying groups in Nairobi, leaving an estimated total of 260 actual self-help schools in the rural areas.

With this in mind, it is clear from Table 18 that the major impact of these schools has been at the level of forms 1 and 2. Most of the schools aim to go on to forms 3 and 4 and offer the full second-level course to school certificate but for the present many have halted at or not yet reached form 2 level, when

the pupils now take the junior second-level examination, specially instituted by the Ministry of Education in 1966 to give the *harambee* schools a reasonable goal to aim at.

These rural schools play a very significant part in helping to meet the immediate need for an extended education for the large numbers of first-level school-leavers. This is made clear by Table 19, which gives an estimate based on Ministry statistics and the results of a number of small research projects of the post-first-level school destinations of the 147,544 (1967) school-leavers in 1968.[1]

TABLE 19. Destinations of first-level school-leavers, 1967

Found places in government aided schools	15 100
Found places in *harambee* unaided schools	12 444
Found places in other types of unaided schools	7 000
Repeated first-level classes	15 000
Found places in some form of further training (e.g., teacher training, Railways and Harbour Training School)	4 000
Found some form of permanent employment	20 000
Did not obtain permanent wage employment or formal education	74 000
TOTAL	147 544

To many economists, it is a moot point how far *harambee* schools serve a useful purpose beyond providing a temporary respite for the labour market and possibly widening the basis of selection and improving the abilities of the few leavers who find wage employment. But the opportunity-cost is not the key issue in relation to self-help second-level schools. With local communities so determined and so heavily committed, it is vital to find some way of co-ordinating these self-help efforts with the national plans for developing the education system.

Organization and management

While it is relatively easy to define a clear catchment area for first-level schools, it is difficult to define any obvious basis for the establishment of a *harambee* second-level school. Geographically, traditional community areas have been divided by divisional and local boundaries and, historically, the old community leadership and clan loyalties have been largely supplanted by the district administration, local government councils, political party branches, church organizations and co-operative societies. The sense of communal responsibility is thus continually shifting, centring at different times on traditional ties, on political constituencies, on first-level schools or rural development projects, but at the second level these

1. 'The *harambee* schools: the impact of self-help', op. cit. This table and the following sections draw heavily on the research discussed in this report.

distinctions are usually blurred and frequently overlap. The position is further complicated by the intervention of politicians, churchmen and other influential citizens. Sometimes politicians or churches actually instigate the movement to found a school, but more often they are brought in to provide a focus for fund-raising activities or to obtain approval for the school, or to help in finding teachers. Most well-educated people in an area are asked for advice. Usually this is given freely but, in a number of cases, influential people have taken control of a school and 'managed' it on some form of profit-making basis.

The usual course of development involves a small group of personalities, chiefs, first-level school headmasters, religious leaders, calling a meeting (*baraza*) at which interested individuals can express their views and pledge support. If a decision is taken to start a school, further meetings are held to promote publicity, decide on a site, fix the amount and method of collecting contributions, and elect a school committee. The long-established precedents of starting first-level schools offer some guidelines for this process.

Communities have their own ways of selecting competent people, although most committees have to include 'diplomatic' appointments, such as important county councillors or clan leaders. In some cases, two committees are established, the larger one including all the necessary dignitaries, the smaller one being the actual working party. Very rarely are the active officials illiterate, and many have some knowledge of English. Nearly all are farmers; many are, or have been, first-level school teachers, chiefs or local civil servants and traders.

The progress of a school depends very largely on the committee members, on their ability to handle the problems of raising funds and recruiting teachers, and to react to incidents which may arise from denominational or political rivalries, conflicts with school committees or supporting co-operatives, and personal jealousies. Besides running the school soundly, it is important that the committee publicize its work to the community. Failure to do this not only reduces support, but can easily lead to rumours about a committee's ability or honesty. In this respect, the help of a conscientious chief and an interested headmaster, who are both prepared to talk at length to the local community about its school, is invaluable.

Finance

The ability of a community to raise sufficient funds is a basic issue in all self-help projects. In the *harambee* school movement, the financial arrangements are complex. At present, costs are rising and money is proving hard to raise.

These financial difficulties lie in the nature of the self-help method. In the past, self-help has largely been treated as a substitute for capital, not as a technique for raising it. In projects that have a high labour content, like road building or terracing, or indeed the building of simple first-level schools in local materials, self-help methods can cut costs considerably. But the construction and maintenance of second-level schools requires an essential cash input for capital expenses and the payment of recurrent costs.

A second, more crucial problem derives from the method of capital formation which self-help groups use. To develop schools on a large scale, a government would normally raise a long-term loan. Self-help techniques, as practised for second-level schools, have a tendency to do precisely the opposite. Much of the self-help is carried out through the collection of money to erect permanent school buildings. Money is often collected over several months before the buildings are started. It is not uncommon for a committee to raise a collection for a classroom block and to use the money thus collected to build foundations and walls; then a licence has to be secured and meetings have to be called, a process taking perhaps six months, before enough money can be found to complete the roof and provide desks. Thus the start of a school or the opening of a new class is frequently delayed.

An added complication is that few schools make an adequate distinction between capital costs and recurrent costs. Usually only one cash book is kept. In it the initial funds raised are shown and the cost of the initial capital development subtracted. The balance is then carried forward. School fees, which tend to arrive in small payments throughout the school year, and further donations are added, and the recurrent costs and further capital development are debited. Headmasters and/or treasurers naturally tend to give first priority to essential teaching materials, school running costs and teachers' salaries, with capital development being paid for very gradually from any remaining funds. This frequently means utilizing local craftsmen, used to working on a casual contract basis, to make desks or to build the walls of a classroom as money becomes available, allowing parents and pupils time in which to carry out such tasks as digging foundations, cutting timber or baking bricks. School fees, averaging shs. 600-700 per annum, are often set to cover this type of capital expansion, and it is possible to find schools developing quite successfully, if rather slowly, on a monthly balance of less than K£100. As an example, the trial balance sheet for February 1968 of one very successful *harambee* school is shown in Table 20. Clearly, the costs each month depend very largely on the ability of the headmaster and committee to ensure that sufficient school fees are paid. Where this is not the case, the arrears of salary tend to build up. In any event, this nearly always happens during holidays, when school fees are not paid.

Such a pattern of finance is obviously precarious and requires dedication and commitment on the part of the organizers. Of course, it is open to improvement by separating funds so that budgets and estimates for capital development can be made clearly and on a long-term basis. But it is important to recognize that, in following this type of procedure, schools are implicitly coming to terms with the need to spread capital development costs over a period of time and also with the increasing reluctance of communities to accept further *ad hoc* collections.

Ideally, a school should be able to estimate and budget its recurrent costs against fees, aiming at an optimum balance between the quality of education and the charges parents can reasonably be expected to pay. Capital development funds should be drawn from the community separately and should be related realistically to what each individual and the community as a whole can afford, without harming their productive capacity. In some areas, like Meru, Kisii and

TABLE 20. Trial balance sheet of a *harambee* school, February 1968

Debit	shs.	Credit	shs.
Expenditure:			
Salaries:			
Mr. Ngumbi	1 205.00	Balance, as from 1st	1 263.35
Mr. Masila	870.00	Income: (fees)	
Mr. Latimer	700.00	1st February	840.00
Mr. Mwano	700.00	2nd February	385.00
Mr. Fox	700.00	5th February	2 912.00
Mr. Mulwa	500.00	6th February	286.25
Mr. Kimile	220.00	7th/8th February	1 450.00
Miss Mutuku	400.00	9th February	254.00
Arrears:		12th February	955.00
Mr. Ngumbi	355.00	13th February	813.00
Mr. Masila	150.00	14th February	300.00
Claims:		16th & 19th February	466.00
Mr. Kimile	60.00	20th & 26th February	706.00
Matron's salary	40.00	27th & 29th February	695.00
Watchman's salary	30.00		
School equipment, hostel misc., travel, transport	4 069.80		
Cash at bank	1 315.80		
	11 315.60		11 315.60
N.B. Cash in bank	1 690.00		
Less exam. fees in bank paid before time	374.40		
	1 315.60		

Kirinyaga, co-operative societies have agreed to make annual payments related to their annual production to certain schools. There have been some difficulties in defining clearly which co-operatives should serve which schools, but, by and large, these have been overcome and schools receiving such help have generally progressed very well. Unfortunately recent dissensions within the co-operative societies themselves, created by richer farmers who oppose any form of general payment involving proportionate deductions from earnings, have caused the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services to advise co-operatives against becoming linked with self-help schemes. This is regrettable, because tying the development of self-help services to the level of production in an area through a co-operative not only prevents capital being drained from immediate productive use, but also creates extra incentives for agricultural effort where education and health are concerned.

In certain areas, for example, Kirinyaga and Kitui, the county councils have made useful grants, but because county council funds are so heavily committed,

these grants are usually relatively small and often aimed at helping pupils with bursaries to cover fees. Other common sources of finance are *ad hoc* grants from the Department of Community Development and from churches, local firms or individuals usually aimed at some specific piece of equipment needed.

A more detailed picture of a *harambee* second-level school is given below by the case study of the Kenyatta High School, Mahiga. This particularly successful school is not chosen because it typifies the *harambee* second-level school movement; no single school could do this adequately. It is chosen because, as a successful school, it highlights the goals at which *harambee* second-level schools appear to be aiming, and the techniques which they use.

A case study of an unaided second-level school: Kenyatta High School

Kenyatta High School is in the Mahiga location of the Othaya division, an isolated part of Nyeri district. It stands at the end of a long, heavily cultivated ridge, which runs down from the forest-covered Aberdare mountains. The soil of Mahiga is fertile but the location is so densely populated that the average family has only about three acres of land, from which it must produce not only enough food to last through the year, but also enough cash to pay taxes, to buy goods from the local shops and, perhaps most important of all, to pay school fees, which are for most families a very heavy burden. Nowadays nearly every farm in the lower parts of the location has its coffee garden, while in the colder and wetter uplands, tea gardens are rapidly coming into production. Many farmers have bought exotic high-breed cows, while others with less money are up-grading their cattle by using artificial insemination. Milk production is increasing rapidly.

With this rapid expansion of economic opportunity, Mahiga people have become increasingly concerned about the need to educate their children. There are enough first-level schools to provide elementary education for all the children in the location who can pay for it, and the proportion going to first-level school is now around 90 per cent of the total child population of first-level school age. But government second-level schools can only provide places for about 12-13 per cent of those who now complete the first-level course. It was in response to this need that the people of Mahiga decided, in 1965, to build Kenyatta High School by voluntary self-help effort.

The organizing committee developed around a nucleus of old Kikuyu independent school leaders who, soon after independence, began to urge the people to start a self-help second-level school in the area to replace one closed down by the colonial authorities during the emergency. A committee was formed and began to organize a massive self-help effort to construct a school. Initially, an adult population of around 7,000 people was called upon to support the school, but as plans for other second-level schools developed in the locality, the actual supporting force dropped to around 4,000 adults.

Construction of the school started in September 1965 and a combination of techniques was used. Collections were made in cash and materials, cement,

stone, etc., and self-help labour, mainly provided through women's co-operative working groups, was used for the heavy work, for instance, digging and providing ballast for the foundations and sufficient sand and shingle for concrete mixing. Such materials were obtained without cost from local river valleys, but the building stones had to be transported in a lorry by a contractor from a quarry seven miles away. Small-scale local African contractors were used to provide the actual building skills, and an old Ministry of Works plan was adapted as the basis for the classroom design, although, in reality, the classrooms were mainly a product of the school committee's idea of what classrooms should be, heavily built in stone, large enough to accommodate forty pupils, but having insufficient lighting through the windows.

The main school block is now nearly complete. It consists of eight classrooms and an office. Three of the rooms, which are not yet needed for classes, are being used temporarily as a science laboratory, a library and a carpenter's workshop. Two teachers' houses have been built, and a third is under construction. Within the past few months a hydraulic pump has been installed, so the school now has piped water. Nearly all the furniture for the school and the teachers' houses has been built on the site by local workmen using only hand tools.

CAPITAL COSTS

Total costs are difficult to assess. The cost of the materials used in building, laying on water, levelling and draining has been estimated at approximately shs.180,000, but if the heavy labour and managerial expenses involved in exploiting local resources are taken into account, the cost would be considerably higher. Judging by local prices, if a contractor from Nyeri had taken on the task, he would have charged at least shs. 300,000. A comparison of the cost with that of a government school of the same size is hard to make, because no government school would be phased and developed in this way, and government designs for the buildings are different and, in the case of the classrooms, much better thought out. However, it is worth pointing out that the cost of a government classroom of similar dimensions would be at least twice as high as the actual material cost to the Mahiga community.

In terms of capital development, Kenyatta High School is a tribute to local community energy and sacrifice. It reveals the capacity of a progressive peasant community to meet the capital costs for its own education.

Yet some important provisos must be made. First, the siting of the school could have been better from the point of view of access to roads and water supply. Second, the buildings, particularly the school block, are badly designed and built in heavy, expensive stone, which was not really necessary. Third, eight classrooms were put up in a period of just over three years. Today, four of them are not yet being used. Certainly, it is convenient to use them as a library and a temporary laboratory, but they were not intended for this purpose. Ironically, the school now desperately needs a dormitory block but cannot, for the moment, find the resources for this.

Two points stand out in relation to Kenyatta High School's development. First, no matter how committed a school committee of this type is, it cannot be expected to plan and phase the development of a second-level school unaided. In fact, the committee did obtain some help from a sympathetic local education officer and a European studying business in the area and, through their assistance, the design for the teachers' houses was greatly improved. But the help was on an *ad hoc* basis and much more advice and help on an official basis was clearly needed. Second, the commitment to build in heavy stone materials, without really considering the use of local materials and thereby saving money for future developments, is typical of *harambee* school committees. It seems paradoxical that self-help efforts are used to bring shingle and sand over long distances and up steep hills, and that stones and cement are paid for to erect buildings which could have been erected much more easily and much more cheaply in offcut timber, readily available near the site. This lack of official guidance and flexibility over the use of materials is a problem which affects every *harambee* school, but at Mahiga it is high-lighted against the conscientiousness and managerial capacity of a well-organized rural community committee.

Initially this committee was established under the sponsorship of the African Independent Pentecostal Church, which in the past had been responsible for many independent African self-help schools in colonial times. The elders who came to the first meeting had considerable experience on which to rely, both in organizing self-help work and in running schools. Therefore, despite setbacks due to the death and illness of one or two members, and some serious disagreements between various local and religious factions, an effective and well-led school committee emerged, able to unite the efforts of the 4,000 residents of the southern part of Mahiga location to support the school. Some help with capital development did come from grants from the Nyeri County Council, the Community Development Department and other donors, tradesmen in Nyeri, for instance, but the total cost of this help is estimated at only shs.14,000. Thus, well over 90 per cent of this remarkable capital development was found by the local community.

EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

Initially, it was the educational provision rather than the capital development which proved the main problem. There was no suitably-trained local headmaster available to advise the committee on educational matters, and most of the staff obtained in the early years were second-level school-leavers with poor-grade school certificates looking for temporary posts until they could find more permanent work in some other sphere. The teaching was erratic and, in general, of a poor quality; the text books too few and, in general, badly chosen. In this respect, the school differed little from many other *harambee* schools and the results in its first Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (form 2 level) were only just below the national average for unaided schools.

In 1967, the management committee made contact with the British Volunteer Service and obtained the services of two very good British volunteers, one a

graduate and one with higher school certificate. These two young men were able to support the school staff and an untrained local headmaster of school certificate level, who developed confidence and worked usefully with the volunteers. Since then, with the help of a series of volunteers, the teaching and textbook situation have improved considerably, and the school has progressed successfully to the form 4 level. The first school certificate examination was taken in December, 1969.

Today the school has four classes, totalling 130 pupils, mostly boys. All are day pupils, as it was originally assumed that there would be a sufficient demand for places from the area within a four to five mile radius. However, this has not been the case and already there is a real need for boarding accommodation. Pupils apply from all over Nyeri district and, in a few cases, from even further afield. Some establish themselves with relations nearby and attend as day pupils, others hire local rooms (frequently disused shops) and set up small communal living units. But there is a very limited supply of this type of accommodation. At the same time it has been found that, owing to the high fees, there are not enough pupils within the range of the school to form an effective form 1 intake each year, and even with the present migrants there is evidence of a fall-off in form 1. This is reflected in the financial statement given in Table 21. Many *harambee* schools are now experiencing this situation, which is partly due to an early over-enthusiasm to build schools in too many locations. Now pupils look for the most successful schools in their district, and will avoid a local school if it does not appear to be good enough. Mahiga, with its good organization, volunteer teachers and good examination results, can attract pupils but it urgently needs boarding facilities to do so, whilst less well-organized neighbouring *harambee* schools are finding it much more difficult to attract pupils and in one or two instances have closed down.

From an institutional point of view, Kenyatta High School runs remarkably smoothly. It is organized along the traditional lines of second-level schools in an ex-British colony, with a house/prefect system. All pupils buy a school uniform, attend lessons regularly, and contribute to the running of the school by cleaning classrooms and looking after the surroundings. There is a full range of school certificate subjects, including general science, but physics, chemistry and biology cannot yet be offered as separate subjects because of the lack of an equipped laboratory. Extra-curricular activities are well-organized and include games, a debating club, a dramatic society and a young farmers' club, strongly supported by the pupils and having its own pigs, poultry and vegetable plots.

RECURRENT FINANCE

Recurrent finance is the responsibility of the secretary and treasurer of the committee. They bank the fees and approve any money payments for school expenses. The headmaster only advises on expenses and does not handle any money. Table 21 sets out the accounts for 1969 and shows that the school now runs almost entirely on fees. Besides the actual figures shown in the accounts, the school has received considerable help with equipment from interested donors. The British Council

TABLE 21. Kenyatta High School, accounts for 1969

Income	shs.	Expenses	shs.
Fees:		*Teachers' salaries:*	
Form 1		2 graduate volunteers at	
30 pupils at		shs 700 per month	16 800.00
shs 650 per annum	19 500.00	2 higher school cert. vol-	
(shs 450 fees, +		unteers, at shs 600 per month	14 400.00
shs 200 building)			
Form 2		1 higher school cert. teacher,	
40 pupils at shs 600 per		local, at shs 650 per month	7 800.00
annum	24 000.00		
Form 3		1 school cert. teacher, local,	
35 pupils at shs 700 per annum	24 500.00	at shs 500 per month	6 000.00
Form 4			
25 pupils at shs 700 per annum	17 500.00	Sub-total	45 000.00
Sub-total	85 500.00	*Administrative staff:*	
		2 maintenance staff, at shs 300	
		per month	7 200.00
		2 office staff, at shs 180 per	
		month	4 320.00
		1 typist, at shs 150 per month	1 800.00
		2 watchmen, at shs 75 per	
		month	1 800.00
		Sub-total	15 120.00
		Total	60 120.00
		Estimated cost of stationery,	
		school equipment	8 500.00
		Estimated cost of maintenance,	
		further building materials	7 000.00
		Estimated committee expenses,	
		transport, office expenses	6 000.00
		Estimated balance	3 880.00
GRAND TOTAL	85 500.00	GRAND TOTAL	85 500.00

has helped with books and chemistry equipment and materials. Books have also come from the U.S. Agency for International Development, and several interested individuals and commercial entreprises have given help with books and science equipment, including a microscope. It is to the credit of the committee that it has been able to attract such help, although the volunteer teachers have also helped. Incidentally, the volunteers themselves often return portions of their salary to the school in the form of teaching materials they buy.

The statement of accounts suggests that the Mahiga community has, so far, managed to meet the expenses of a four-year second-level school, leading to the East African school certificate examination. Indeed, if the present accounts

are analysed it can be seen that, so far as recurrent costs are concerned, some savings could probably be made in the future. The number of office workers could be cut and the work of the building and maintenance staff could be reduced once the capital development is complete, so that only a part-time maintenance man would be needed. However, to offset this, the considerable work put in by the committee secretary and treasurer may not be adequately accounted for.

With regard to the present level of educational provision, it must, of course, be recognized that only fairly basic equipment and textbooks are available, and while these have been sufficient to obtain comparatively good results in recent examinations, any expansion or change of curriculum would cause great strains. Such changes are quite likely to occur as pressure rises for a curriculum more relevant to a developing society, i.e., more science teaching and better Africanized syllabuses and textbooks. In fact, the self-help nature of educational provision in *harambee* schools could be seen to be delaying the implementation of new curricular changes. An equally important factor to keep in mind is the volunteer aid. The overseas volunteers have, so far, been very largely responsible for the success of the school, having developed a remarkable degree of commitment to the school, its pupils, parents and committee members. The graduates, in particular, work for a very much smaller salary than a local graduate recruited on the normal government scale, who would expect at least shs.1,400 per month.

As already stated, it cannot be claimed that the situation at Mahiga is typical of that at most *harambee* schools with regard to recurrent costs. Conditions vary greatly, but few schools handle their finances as effectively as this school. Many accumulate debts in the same way as does Kahuhu first-level school. What Kenyatta High School does show is that with a sufficiently able and committed committee, a small second-level school can, for the present, be run on a *per capita* cost per annum of about K£30 to K£35. But it must be stressed that the basis on which the school works is very fragile, and that this type of education is open to question.

The present committee members are old; strains and conflicts arise easily in the area and could split the committee. Costs of educational materials and teachers' salaries are rising sharply. Volunteer teachers still form the basis of the teaching and there is as yet no sign of capable African teachers of the same standard to replace them at the same cost. In this respect Kenyatta High School is perhaps more vulnerable than some other *harambee* schools where more committed African staff have been secured. The curriculum followed is still very largely based on the traditional academic pattern inherited from colonial times, but it cannot be easily changed in view of the present financial constraints.

VII. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to illustrate and analyse the part which community self-help has played in the financing of basic education in Kenya since independence.

From a purely economic point of view, the analysis of cost and benefit of the self-help inputs into formal education in Kenya would be an intriguing exercise. Yet for a number of reasons such a study would be difficult to undertake. First, self-help inputs of labour and materials would prove very difficult to measure. Second, it is equally difficult to measure any opportunities foregone when local resources are committed to education. It is possible, for instance, to speculate that a further understanding of the priorities within most local communities would show that, to a large degree, it is consumption (clothes, watches, beer, better food) rather than other capital development items (cattle dips, improved roads, health centres) that are foregone. Third, it is difficult to assess the relative merits of self-help and central government financing in terms of output, because the two are largely interrelated.

In the present first-level schools, the process of institutionalizing self-help is already well advanced, so that, while capital costs are largely borne by self-help, recurrent costs remain largely controlled by the central government, making the relatively few completely unaided first-level schools exceptions rather than the rule. With regard to second-level education, no such relationship has yet been worked out. It is clear, however, that the government is increasingly moving towards the same formula as that for first-level schools. It can be argued that, without the self-help efforts, the central government would have a much freer hand in re-designing a new, possibly more relevant type of school system and implementing important changes in the curriculum and examinations of second-level schools. Yet, on the other hand, without self-help the pace of second-level educational development would have been much slower. In any event, the purely economic/educational arguments in such a situation are very largely dependent on the all-important prevailing political atmosphere. In the post-independence period, the political pressure for rapid educational expansion was unchallengeable. To have any hope of maintaining popular confidence, the central government was forced to expand education, and in interacting with the local communities

it naturally attempted, for political as well as economic reasons, to utilize rather than frustrate the self-help enterprise.

In such circumstances, the purely financial aspects of education are to a large extent meaningless. Yet, as J.B. Knight has pointed out in an earlier study on educational development in Tanzania:

> 'It is easy to point to the statistical deficiencies and the political and economic imponderables which make educational planning an exercise full of pitfalls. Nevertheless, provided there is sufficient flexibility in the planning machinery, so that estimates can be revised where necessary before the plan period is over, these considerations in no way diminish the need for planning. It is only by attempting to plan that the deficiencies of data will be remedied. It is far better to reach decisions by trying rationally to evaluate alternatives than by relying on hunches. Even if some decisions are taken on political grounds, it is important that their cost implications should be recognized.' [1]

With regard to the applicability of Kenya's self-help techniques to other countries, and the possibilities of generating new forms of educational revenue to meet the rising educational expenses facing many other developing countries in the future, a number of concluding points can be made:

1. Kenya may well highlight the utilization of self-help techniques in educational development, but it is by no means unique, and it is likely that many other countries already benefit considerably from self-help efforts in educational provision, particularly in capital development. After all, the process by which the missionaries, and later the colonial authorities, were able to capitalize on traditional African community efforts holds good right across Africa. Indeed, in a study on education in Nigeria, Callaway and Musone [2] make just this point, and go on to show that in the Eastern region, at least, post-independence school building relied to a considerable extent on local sources, referred to as 'private and community funds', although the actual nature of the inputs was not analysed. With regard to Tanzania, J.B. Knight shows that the Tanzanian government grants to first-level school building were designed to 'maximize the contribution of local authorities and voluntary agencies'. Once again these contributions were not analysed, but it seems probable, in the light of what is known about the work of the Tanzanian Parents Association and the recent drive for 'Education for self-reliance', [3] that much school-building depends on local community efforts. It therefore seems important that further studies of the impact of self-help effort on education should be made before any overall schemes for the more effective utilization of self-help are considered.
2. The utilization of self-help techniques emphasizes that local authorities, statutorily elected councils or *ad hoc* community groups should be allowed to take the initiative in their own educational development. This undoubtedly

1. J.B. Knight, 'The costing and financing of educational development in Tanzania', in *Educational development in Africa*, Volume II, Paris, Unesco: IIEP, 1969.
2. A. Callaway and A. Musone, 'Financing education in Nigeria', ibid.
3. Julius K. Nyerere, *Education for self-reliance*, Dar-es-Salaam, Government Printer, 1967.

presents problems for effective co-ordination at the national level and ultimate national control. No country in the world has yet found a thoroughly satisfactory way of handling the relationship between the central and local control of education. As an earlier section made clear, Kenya is at the moment in the throes of this problem. Therefore, whilst the idea of locally-generated contributions to education, in which local communities apparently tax themselves willingly to provide their children with schools, appears attractive, it does carry with it very important political implications concerning the delegation of educational control.

3. A further point, related to 2 above, is the question of equality. Whilst national policies may lead towards equality, inequalities soon develop when local areas are allowed to take the initiative in educational provision, and in a politically competitive tribal situation this could have disruptive consequences. Table 22 gives some indication of this problem.

TABLE 22. Second-level schools in 1968 by province

Province	Aided	Unaided	Total	Estimated population (1962 census)
Central	51	94	165	1 400 000
Coast	21	22	43	600 000
East	31	58	89	1 600 000
Nairobi	29	36	65	200 000
North East	1	—	1	300 000
Nyanza	33	66	99	1 400 000
Rift Valley	34	45	79	1 600 000
West	32	48	80	1 300 000

SOURCE *Annual report*, 1968, op. cit.

4. The implication of the lack of central control is that education may develop in a very uneconomic way, mainly because large numbers of small single-stream schools are likely to be created, instead of larger, 3 and 4-streamed schools which can utilize specialist resources, for instance, science staff and laboratories. Table 23 shows how this can happen.
5. If self-help methods are to be used effectively, some form of government planning and advisory service is vital to ensure that self-help effort is utilized sensibly. These services must be thought out thoroughly, so that the advice and aid given are within the context of what local communities can reasonably be expected to do. Innovations and initiative should be encouraged in order to counteract the problems caused by lack of wealth. Yet there is evidence in Kenya that the administration has not yet recognized this. Over and over again, pressure is put on communities which ask for help and advice to 'build

TABLE 23. Estimate of stream structure in Kenya's schools, 1968

Streams in schools	Aided	Unaided	Total
8	0	1	1
7	0	3	3
6	3	2	5
5	6	0	6
4	7	11	18
3	51	22	73
2	42	68	110
1	123	262	385
TOTAL	232	369	601

SOURCE See J.E. Anderson, *'The struggle for the school'*, op. cit, chap. 9,

to government standards', for instance, by forcing them to raise money to cover the cost of expensive materials required, rather than encouraging them to innovate by using local resources. A specific example comes from Kenyatta High School, where a community development officer 'advised' the committee to build the third teachers' house in stone instead of the offcut timber in which it had been started. The result has been that the cost has been doubled and the house is not yet completed.

This is a critical point because education is changing so rapidly. In Kenya self-help committees know the traditional procedures for establishing and building new schools so well that most of the advice they receive with regard to improvements relates only in a marginal reforming way, which tends to raise costs rather than have any central effect in altering the basis of provision in order to cut costs. Yet the technology of education is changing very rapidly and thus new methods of communicating ideas and knowledge are needed which will involve changing the perspective of the local groups involved. If this is to be effective it will mean a whole-hearted approach by senior government officials towards taking local leaders into their confidence and will also require a new flexibility in the civil service apparatus so that contacts between the centre and the periphery become more fluid and the boundaries between such ministries as Education, Social Services and Agriculture become more permeable so that joint policies can be agreed to meet the needs of different areas.

6. The nature of self-help must be more fully understood. Originally, it was seen as groups of people in a certain location combining together to build in local materials, thus saving scarce liquid assets. This kind of activity is now changing, for as self-help groups become larger and more tightly organized, they seem to become more concerned with developing larger and more complex projects which frequently require a money input. In fact, money contributions

are now an important part of self-help movements, and this change, while it extends the range of what community self-help effort can achieve, also has a profound effect on the pattern of the self-help movement and its effects on the community groups involved. Labour and local materials have a relatively small opportunity-cost, especially in a non-harvesting or planting period, and their provision does not arouse any great tension in the community. But when families are asked to contribute money, which clearly has a high opportunity-cost, people gradually become less and less ready to contribute, and the original co-operative spirit built around communal work becomes lost as the monetary donations demanded from each family rise and as the respective capacity of the families to make payments is compared. Indeed, there have been a number of cases in which families have been forced into paying by self-help committees literally taking away their property and selling it. The evils of this situation become compounded where the government is active in sponsoring self-help, and government officers actually take part in forcing such payments. As the emphasis towards cash contributions gathers momentum, it seems that the whole concept of self-help must be re-interpreted and, in particular, care must be taken to protect the essential voluntary element within the self-help movement.

7. There are many factors which are likely to shape the development of formal education systems in developing countries during the coming years, affecting the pace of development, the goals of teaching, the size and structure of schools and, in the final analysis, the whole notion of what form educational institutions should take. President Nyerere has already given a significant lead in emphasizing the new relationships he wants to see between school and community. School systems certainly need to be made more relevant to local and national needs and flexible enough to account for the diversity of these needs, which range from simple agricultural subsistence economies to the commerce, industry and administration of the modern sector.
8. Little has been said in this paper about the content of education or the curriculum. In general it is assumed that the old crystalized academic approach should give way to a much more diverse and practical pattern of study able to support an advancing technology in the growing modern section, but also able to support mass programmes for development in the transitional and traditional areas of the economy with their largely agricultural base. Informed public opinion in Kenya is aware of this and there is pressure not least reflected in self-help groups to promote new technical curricula, but this must not be misinterpreted. Self-help groups are now beginning to give a little support to village polytechnics and there is talk of more advanced technical institutes. However, the main reason for this is the desire to advance children into the wage earning economy rather than the desire to support low-level agriculture and informal economic activity in the countryside.

   If the potential for local relevance and diversification which self-help appears to offer is to be used, then the need for better joint planning procedures, better communication and a better-educated local leadership mentioned above,

must be emphasized again. Indeed, the very notion of new curricula and more advanced self-help educational institutions such as technical institutes seems to pre-suppose the creation of a more educated and more widely based self-help leadership and better joint planning mechanisms.

It was pointed out in the introduction to this report that, in the context of this situation, Kenya must now recognize the need for some type of formal education extending beyond the traditional first level to meet the requirements of large numbers of 13-16 year olds before they can expect to take up adult occupations. Clearly, the traditional second-level school, with its old academic curriculum, its still strong expatriate teaching element and its costly physical plant, is ill-designed and far too costly to provide the terminal education oriented towards rural development which is required by the vast majority of Kenya's school population. The government needs to think afresh about what a relevant, effective lower second-level educational institution should be. Planners will obviously be concerned with the schools' output in terms of an education that will fit pupils for the lives they are most likely to lead, but equally they will be concerned with the input in terms of what local communities can reasonably be expected to contribute to these new institutions. Thus it seems that communal self-help must be accounted for as a factor in institutional design, and that any attempts to stimulate or to use it by planners must be accompanied by a full understanding of all its implications, and a flexibility of mind that will allow for effective institutions to be established.

Before concluding it is important to make the rather obvious but, nevertheless, crucial point that 'self-help' is not just a technique for raising money or bringing local people more closely into planning, it is a phenomenon which reflects fundamental processes in human organization. Further, it has important ideological implications which touch upon such key questions as the aims of economic development and national policies with regard to egalitarian principles and freeing individual and communal enterprise. Again, in conjunction with education it calls into question the whole basis of mobility in a society and the selection procedures for positions of wealth, power and prestige.

The above points are made not so much to detract from the usefulness of communal self-help efforts in education, as to keep such efforts in perspective. Kenya's recent experience certainly demonstrates the value of such effort and points to an interesting way of expanding education in rural communities through the effective co-operation of local communities and government authorities. The process by which such co-operation can be developed is still subject to many fundamental questions, but if these can be answered, the potential for new and effective methods of educational development appears very great.

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The book

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